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C I C E R O's
EPISTLES

T O 60105
A T T I C U S.

WITH
NOTES Historical, Explanatory, and
Critical.

Translated into *English*,
By *WILLIAM GUTHRIE*, Esq;

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

*Quæ, qui legat, non multum desideret historiam contextam
eorum temporum.* Nep. Vit. Attici.

L O N D O N :

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P R E F A C E.



HAVE now translated the Collection of *Cicero's* Epistles to *Atticus*, a Work more entertaining to read, but more difficult to translate, than any literary Composition of Antiquity, and that for the following Reasons.

Not above seventy of the many thousands *Difficulties* of Letters, wrote by *Cicero*, were collected by *of this Work.* any one Hand in his own Life-time, with a View of publishing them. Upon the great Revolution of the *Roman* Empire, under *Augustus Caesar*, such a Publication must have been extremely dangerous, on Account of the Freedoms he uses with the Emperor himself, the Ministers of his Power, and the Constitution of his Government. *Nepos*, it is true, who was our Author's Friend and Contemporary, mentions seventeen Books of his Epistles to *Atticus*, with elegant Applause, but he makes a plain Distinction between

them, and the other Works of our Author, which were then public (1). The Reigns of the Princes succeeding *Augustus*, were still less favourable to public Liberty, and therefore, it is more than probable, that these Epistles lay concealed in the Cabinets of the Curious, and that, many Years past before they received any critical Inspection. This was one Reason of the very great Incorrectness and Imperfections of this Work in the Original, there being scarcely ten successive Lines through the Whole, in which the Manuscript Copies do not differ from one another.

But there is another, and a much more powerful, Reason for the Difficulty of translating our Author's Epistles to *Atticus*. They are wrote in the Language of Friendship, a Language which Friends alone understand. If there is any material Difference between human Nature in that Age and this, it lies in the Conception of this Virtue. The following Pages evince, that there was a Time, when Friendship in the human Breast could rise into a Passion strong as their Love, and sacred as their Religion, but without the Impurities that sometimes debased the one, and

(1) *Ei rei sunt indicio, præter eos libros, in quibus de eo facit mentionem, qui in vulgus sunt editi, sexdecim volumina epistolarum ab consulatu ejus usque ad extremum tempus ad Atticum missarum.*

Nep. Vit. Attici.
the

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the Superstition that always polluted the other. The Friendship of our Author for *Atticus*, is full of nice Suspicions, delicate Jealousies, kind Fears, and fond Endearments. It has every characteristic of violent, but virtuous, Passion. It breathes every tender Grace that delights the Mind, and awakens every soft Emotion that affects the Heart. The Language of the most enamoured Poet to his Mistress is faint, compared to the Voice of *Cicero's* Friendship for *Atticus*, and were the following Pages void of all other Merit, the Translator can boast of being the first who has revived in the *English* Language, a Virtue which has been so long numbered with the Fairy-Tales, and therefore, is as incredible in its Effects, as it is inimitable in its Expression.

I am not sure whether the strongest Friend-^{Comparison}ships are not founded upon a Dissimilarity^{of Cicero with} of Manners between the Parties, by which, ^{Atticus.} each endeavours to supply his own Defects from the others Perfections. Nothing could be more dissimilar in many Respects than the Manners of *Atticus* from those of our Author. The former was magnificent, the latter elegant. *Cicero* was the greatest Scholar, but *Atticus* the better Critic. The Abilities of *Cicero* were striking; those of *Atticus* were useful; the one was inconstant, the other stay'd.

Cicero was perpetually deviating from the Principles he professed, while *Atticus* was constantly practising the Virtues he disclaimed. *Cicero* had Genius, but *Atticus* good Sense. *Cicero* was often needy, *Atticus* was generally affluent. The one was sometimes rapacious that he might be profuse, the other was always frugal that he might be generous. The Fortune of *Cicero* was boisterous in both Extreams ; but *Atticus* had the Address to avoid Extreams, and therefore, his Life ran in an even, but gentle, Current to its End. The Passion of *Cicero* was, that he might be admired ; that of *Atticus*, that he might be beloved ; and therefore, the former was rewarded with Applause, the latter with Happiness. Their Sentiments seem to have been the same, as to public Measures ; but *Atticus* endured what he could not prevent, while *Cicero* approved of what he could not endure. A Patriot would wish to die like *Cicero*, and a wise Man to live like *Atticus* ; but *Cicero* lived in a Tumult, and *Atticus* died in a Pet.

It would be easy for me to run this Parallel into a greater Length, but the Defect is abundantly supplied by the following Sheets, especially in several of the Notes I have taken the Freedom to add.

But after all, our Author and his Friend
had

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had many Virtues, and some Qualities, in common with one another. They had the same Susceptibility of Heart; they had the same Tenderness of Affection; they loved the same Studies, and were fond of the same Entertainments. There seems to have been an Elegance and a Quaintness in *Atticus*, down even to the Form of his Hand-writing, that appeared in all his Actions, and seasoned all his Discourse. The Application of his Wit in Conversation, is so often adopted by our Author in Writing, that his Meaning is often unintelligible. He catches at the Rebound, every familiar Phrase, every vernacular Turn, every happy Allusion, and sends them back to his Friend, who is possessed of the Key to Decypher them; for this Correspondence is carried on through many Letters, in what is no better than a Cypher. The Reader therefore, may easily judge of the infinite Labour and Application, to recover the Key of this Cypher, at such a Distance of Time, especially, as not a single Letter from *Atticus* remains to direct our Enquiry.

The Obscurity of Cicero's Letters to Atticus,

and the Reason of it.

I know to what Censure I am liable, by the Freedoms I have taken with my Author's Character. But I know, at the same Time, that half the learned Fools in the World, have been made so, through their ridiculous Prepossessions for great Names. Ill would it

Apology of the Translator.

have become me, to have undertaken the Works I have executed, had I not thought myself free from all Pannics of that Kind, and yet, the Satisfaction of blaming *where I must*, is not half so agreeable, as the Pleasure of commending *where I can*, is exquisite. But a Terror in either, is unworthy any Man, whose Aim is to do Justice.

General
Remark on
Dr. Middleton's
Life of
Cicero.

Dr. Middleton, a Writer as tame in Politics as he is bold in Religion, has given us a History of our Author's Life, or rather an Apology for his Conduct; which I will venture to say, no Man of Sense can think the Doctor would have published, had he imagined any one would have been presumptuous enough to have given to the Public, a fair and a full Translation of the Epistles to *Atticus*; because, almost every Page of the following Sheets carries in it a Refutation of what the Doctor has advanced, in Vindication of our Author's Firmness, Patriotism, Prudence, and Consistency with himself.

Character
of this
Work.

Of all the Works ever published, none perhaps, shews, equally to this, what vile Rep- tiles those Men have been, who bear the greatest Names in History. We here see, what a low, timid Creature, the mighty *Pompey* was, though the Voice of Ages consenting with that of our Author, has extoll'd him for Integrity of Manners, and
Greatness

Greatness of Spirit. But what are we to think of our Author, whose public Orations so much belied his private Sentiments? The following Pages represent the celebrated *Hortensius*, as a little, spiteful, Lawyer; the polite and brave *Lucullus*, as an indolent Voluptuary; the virtuous *Cato*, as a hot, wrong-headed, Fellow; and the amiable *Brutus*, as a peevish, positive, ill-mannered, Coxcomb. In one Page; we see our Author's Wife more dear to him than his Eyes; in another, he flings her from his Bosom. *Quintus*, from being the best, becomes the worst, of Brothers, and his Son from being the worst, becomes the best, of Men. But of such Instances in our Author there is no End.

We see here, a Picture of human Nature, mortifying indeed, but true; because we see it in all its Beauties, and with all its Blemishes; with all its Virtues, and with all its Weaknesses. It is drawn by a Hand that was intimate with the Original, nor does he dissemble that his own Person furnishes the most striking Likeness that he exhibits.

I am well aware of what may be urged to vindicate some Parts of our Author's Character, which I have thought to be exceptionable from his Behaviour in the Case of *Catiline's* Conspiracy. But I am singular enough not to believe half the bloody Things, that we are told

Same Part
of it doubt-
ed by the
Translator.

told of that Conspiracy, and I think, my Incredulity might easily be justified, by a fair naked State of Facts and Evidence, even as laid down by our Author, when compared with the other Narratives, on which the Credit of that Conspiracy rests. It is on all Hands allow'd, that the Senate of *Rome*, was at that Time infamously degenerated, that the Spirit of her Government was lost, and the most salutary Maxims of her Republic inverted. In this State, it is no Wonder, if any unsuccessful Attempt, to bring her Constitution back to its first Principles, was branded with the Name of Rebellion and Conspiracy, by the Men whose Interest it was to crush it. I am far from asserting this to have been the Case of *Catiline's* Conspiracy: But, I will venture to assert, that it might have been the Case, for all the Evidence we have to the Contrary. It is true, *Sallust* gives us a Narrative of this Conspiracy; but it is as true, that *Sallust* was the Creature of *Cæsar*, who was, at this Time, meditating the Destruction of his Country, by different Means, and who, for that very Reason, perhaps, betrayed *Catiline* and his Friends. If that is the Case, as appears extremely probable on the Face of History, we can be at no Loss to account, why, after *Cæsar* was possess'd of supreme Power, it became

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became dangerous to disbelieve, and fashionable to believe, all the Horrors of this Conspiracy, and the Credit of it, has stood unquestioned ever since. Mean while, I am sensible how tenderly historical Evidence ought to be handled, lest in detecting what is false, we should weaken what is true. That there was, at that Time a Conspiracy against the Government of *Rome*, is undoubtedly true. But it is certain, likewise, from several strong Circumstances in the following Letters, from the Disagreement of Authors upon the same Facts, though living at the same Time, and all of them interested to have the Belief of the Conspiracy establish'd, but above all, from the Defect of Evidence, which appears even on the Face of our Author's Orations, and the Punishment he afterwards underwent, that it was not concerted with those bloody, frantic Circumstances, that could justify his and the Senate's Proceedings, in putting the Conspirators to death in an illegal Manner. This, however, is no Place for my enlarging farther on this Subject.

But to return to the more immediate Subject of these Sheets; it is impossible to read the Letters written by our Author under his Exile, without suspecting, that he was abandoned within his own Breast, by that perpetual Comforter, the Testimony of a good

Dependence of Cicero in his Exile.

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good Conscience in a virtuous Cause ; so great is his Dejection, Despondency, and Despair. But still the Love of his *Atticus*, triumphs in his Soul ; sparkling amidst his Afflictions, and unextinguished by his Calamities.

The Reader must not expect to find all the following Pages equally entertaining and instructive. He is to consider, that one Friend is talking to another, and that in Friendship, Trifles become of Importance, while they become the Tests of mutual Affection. Neither is he to expect the same Chastity of Style, as in those Works prepared by our Author for the Public ; no ; it is in many Places negligent, and in some, dangerous to be imitated. But I cannot give a more authentic, and at the same Time, a more elegant and true, Description of the general Importance and Value of the following Letters, than in the Words of the noble Friend of *Atticus*, I have already mentioned. “ Whoever, says
“ he, reads those Letters, will not think
“ himself at a Loss, for a connected History of those Times. So well does he
“ describe the Views of the leading Men,
“ the Faults of the Generals, and the Parties in the State, that nothing is wanting
“ for our Information, and we are naturally
“ led to believe that Sagacity is a Kind of
“ Foresight. For *Cicero*, not only foretold
“ what

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“ what afterwards happened in his own Life-
 “ time, but like a Prophet, he predicted
 “ the Events that are now come to pass (1).”

The epistolary Manner, does not permit *The Genius*
Cicero to exert the whole Extent of his *of Cicero*
 Genius in the following Letters, for he some- *in the fol-*
 times checks it, if I may be allowed the *lowing*
 Expression, in Mid-volley. But the Play of *Letters.*
 his Lightnings is such, as discovers the Bolt
 to be in the Hand of a Thunderer; his
 Effulgences are those of Divinity.

Having said thus much of my Original, I *Of the Ex-*
 now come to speak of the Translation. It would *cellency and*
 be improper, nay, dishonest, for me to con- *Faults of*
 ceal the great Obligations I owe to Mon- *Mongault's*
 sieur *Mongault*. He is incomparably the best *French*
 Translator of his Nation, and his Work does *Translation*
 him immortal Honour. But he was a *French-*
 man, and he wrote in *French*. However
 fine his Criticisms are, he had not, in trans-
 lating, proved the Armour of our Author.
 His flimsy Language sinks under the Weight
 of *Latin* Expression, and his tinselled Manner
 is unequal to the Graces of classical Dignity.

(1) *Quæ qui legat, non multum desideret historiam con-*
textam eorum temporum. Sic enim omnia de studiis prin-
cipum, vitiis ducum, æmulationibus reipublicæ perscripta
sunt, ut nihil in his non appareat; & facile existimari
possit, prudentiam quodam modo esse divinationem. Non
enim Cicero ea solum, quæ, vivo se, acciderant futura præ-
dixit, sed etiam, quæ nunc usu veniunt, cecinit, ut vates.
Nepotis Vita Attici.

He

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He gives us a Sketch, and it is no more than a Sketch, after his great Original. The Proportions are just, and the Features discernable, but it is destitute of the Passions, the Strength and Muscling. The Defects, however, lie more in the Language, than in the Writer, and his Criticisms go far towards making amends for his Translation.

But excellent as Monsieur *Mongault* is in his Criticisms, upon the following Epistles, I have taken the Liberty to differ from him in many Passages. This was unavoidable, considering the intense Study I have bestow'd upon my Original. Both of us are charm'd with the same Object, but we have sometimes viewed it in different Lights, through Accident, rather than Judgment.

General
Observation upon
English
Translations.

Nothing is more common than for *English* Translators, to cloak Ignorance and Inability under the Terms of Ease and Freedom. They sink the Words of an Author into his Meaning, when they are so happy, as to catch it, which they sometimes do by the Help of a *French* Translation. Sometimes they extend Sentences through Pages, and sometimes they crowd a Page into a Sentence, under the stale Apology, that they give the Sense of their Author; and they commonly fill a dozen Pages of Preface, to prove, that their Work ought to read

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read like an Original, and that no Man of Spirit will submit to the Drudgery of a literal Translation.

But the Reader will give me Leave to say, that not the smallest Word of a great Author ought to fall to the Ground, if it can possibly be saved. An able Translator, will do his best to be as just to his Original, as the Impression is to the Seal, and by following this Rule, his Translation has a thousand Times the Chance to read like an Original, than it has when he gives the Reader something that is half his own, and half his Author's. But when I say this, I am so far from thinking it an easy Matter to translate literally, that I think it requires the utmost Compass and Power of Language, to make such a Translation even tolerable. Every School-boy, by the Help of a Dictionary, may translate literally, but the Skill lies in the Energy of Expression, and the Choice of Words, for a Sentence may be translated literally, fifty different Ways, and not one of them bear the Hand of a Master.

The noble Translator of *Pliny's Epistles*, *Earl of Orrery*, has lately given us an eminent Proof of what I have advanced above, and that the *English*, of all modern Languages, is the best fitted to support the Dignity of great Writing,

Writing, when it can work itself clear of those Gallicisms, which has polluted its Current for these hundred Years past. His Lordship, like my great Author, by addressing his Labours to his Son, has shewn us the virtuous Use of Learning, but it is to be hoped with different Effects. The Son of *Citero* contaminated the Honours of his Father, and degenerated from his Virtues.

*Proposal
for im-
proving the
English
Language.*

It is by the Example and Encouragement of the Great alone, that the *English* can ever hope to bring their Language to a classical Standard. The Study and Imitation of the Antients, though absolutely necessary towards this great End, never will be prevalent enough to get the better of false Taste, unless it becomes fashionable to write with Propriety. I flatter myself, and from no Symptom so strongly, as from the Experience I myself have had of public Patronage, that I see a generous Disdain of *French* Imitation now gaining Ground in *England*. One spirited Measure might compleat the Triumph, and I wish it were executed, even though it is a *French* Expedient; I mean, an Academy for the Perfection and Purity of our Language. This I think to be practicable, and it is pity, that while private Societies are establishing Academics

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demies for Arts, in which the *English* never were, and probably never will be, eminent, while vast Sums to the lasting Disgrace of Learning, have been swallowed up for its *Encouragement*; while expensive Subscriptions are daily circulating for the Support of stupid Histories, and Party-Dulness, that not the most faint Essay has been made towards so cheap, so easy, and so noble an Undertaking, as what I have now taken the Liberty to mention.

I have not been so diffuse in the critical, explanatory, and historical Notes upon my Author, as Monsieur *Mongault* has been, because he was confin'd to one Work, which could be illustrated only from the other Works of our Author, and in those Illustrations, he has been obliged to be very copious. But what was necessary in him, would be superfluous in me, as I intend (God willing) to translate the Whole of my Author's Works. About ten Years ago, I intimated that Intention to the Public, though the Execution of it was interrupted, by that of a much greater Undertaking. Hitherto, I have had no Rivals in either, for the Attempts which have been since made in both, are below Censure, I had

almost said, below Contempt! They who have the greatest Talents for such Undertakings, are the best acquainted with their Difficulties; and the ablest Critic, will always be found the most candid.

WILLIAM GUTHRIE,

*Cowley-Street, Westminster,
Oct. 20, 1751.*





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CICERO's
EPISTLES
TO
ATTICUS.

BOOK I.

EPIST. I.



FROM the Intimacy subsisting between us, you, my Friend, will easily conceive the Affliction I felt, and the Advantages, both in my Business and Family, which I lost, by the Death of our Brother *Lucius* (1). From him I enjoyed all that can be enjoyed from a good-natured Companion and an honest Man. I cannot therefore doubt that you share in my Sorrow, both as you feel my Afflic-

(1) *Lucii patris nostri*: But in fact this *Lucius* was only Cousin-german to *Cicero*, by his Father's younger Brother. He was likewise related to *Atticus*, whose Sister was married to *Cicero's* Brother. *Cicero*, in the fifth Book *de finibus*, calls the same Person his Brother by way of Affection.

B

tions,

2 CICERO'S EPISTLES

tions, and as you yourself have lost a Relation and a Friend, richly adorned with Virtue, with Benevolence, and with an Affection for you, to which he was disposed by his own Inclination, as well as by my Report.

As to what you write concerning your Sister, she will herself bear me witness how great Pains I took, that the Sentiments of my Brother *Quintus* should be properly disposed in her Behalf. As soon as I found him somewhat picqued, I wrote him Letters, in which I soothed his Affection, I admonished his Weakness, and I reproached his Inconstancy. I am therefore in hopes, from the Letters he afterwards frequently wrote to me, that every Thing, from that Quarter, will be as they ought, and as we wish them, to be.

You do me wrong, in blaming my want of Punctuality in our Correspondence; for our Friend *Pomponia* never gives me Advice of any Person, to whom I can trust my Letters. Besides, I happened never to meet with a Person who was going into *Epirus*, neither did I hear of your being at *Athens*.

As to your Affair with *Acutilius*, which you recommended to me, I finished it as soon as I returned from you to *Rome*; but it happened to be a Matter of little or no Difficulty, and as I knew, you to be ripe in the Matter, I chose that *Peduceus*, rather than I, should give you Advice of it by Letters. For indeed when I had lent *Acutilius* my Ears for several Days, (and I believe you are no Stranger to his disagreeable Manner) you cannot imagine that I could take any great Pleasure in acquainting you
with

with all his Grievances, when I myself suffered such a Penance in hearing them. But now that you accuse me of Remissness, be it known to you, that I have received but one Letter from you, though you have both more Leisure, and more Opportunities of Writing than I have.

You write me, that I ought to recompose any little Resentments of a certain Person against you. Pray recollect —Have I neglected it? But indeed he is strangely touch'd; I did not, however, omit to say every Thing of you that was proper; but as to particular Points to be insisted upon, I thought they ought to be determined by your Pleasure only. If you will let me know what that is, I shall soon convince you, that I have made no greater Advances than you yourself would have made, nor have I been more backward than you could have wish'd.

Tadius has spoken to me concerning his Affair, and told me, that he has no farther Difficulty, because the Estate has suffered Prescription. I am surpris'd you are ignorant, that in the Case of a Guardianship appointed by the Courts of Law (1), which I hear to be the Case of the Girl, nothing can prescribe.

I am glad that you are pleased with your Purchase in *Epirus*. I beg that according to your

(1) The Case was this. The Father of a young Lady died without leaving her Guardians, or a *tutela pura*; upon which, those next in kin assumed the Guardianship, which was therefore called *Tutela legitima*. *Tadius* had, for some Years, been in Possession of an Estate belonging to this young Lady, and then her *Agnati*, or nearest of Kin, demanded the Estate; he pleaded Prescription in his own Favour upon the Opinion of *Atticus*, for which he is here blamed by *Cicero*.

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Promise, you will remember, what I have recommended to you concerning whatever you judge may suit with my *Tusculanum* (1), I mean, when you can do it with your Convenience. For that is the only Spot in which I rest from all my Uneasiness, and all my Toils, and there I daily expect my Brother. My Wife *Terentia* is dreadfully pain'd with the Gout; she has the most sincere Regard for you, your Sister and your Mother, and joins with my little Darling *Tullia*, in wishing you all manner of Prosperity. I beg you will take care of your own Health; continue your Affection for me, and be convinced that I love you as a Brother.

EPIST. II.

I'LL take care that you shall no longer reproach me of Remissness in our epistolary Correspondence. But, my Friend, do you see to it, that in full Leisure, as you are, you be as punctual as I am. *Marcus Fonteius* has given six hundred pounds (2) for the House which *Rabirius* had at *Naples*, and which you had already in Imagination survey'd and finish'd. I thought proper to let you know this, in case you had any farther Thoughts of that Purchase. In my Opinion, Brother *Quintus*

(1) This was the Country Seat or *Villa* of *Cicero*, and if we are to believe him, it was laid out in a very fine Taste. It was situated in the antient *Latium*, and upon the same Spot where the Monastery of *Grotta Ferrata* is now built.

(2) This is as near a Calculation as we can make from the *Sesterces*, the Species of Money mentioned in the Original.

behaves

behaves as well as we could wish towards *Pomponia* ; they are now together upon their Estate at *Arpinum*, and he has carried along with him *Turranus*, a Man, I assure you, of very useful Knowledge (1). Our Father left us (2) on the 23d of *November*. This is almost all that I have to tell you. I beg if you find any Ornaments that are in the literary Taste (3), and suitable to this Place which you are well acquainted with, that you will not let them slip. My charming *Tusculanum* is the only Place that gives me the Enjoyment of myself. Prythee, my Friend, inform me exactly of what you are doing, and what you are about to do.

E P I S T. III.

YOUR Mother is well, and her Health is one of my chief Concerns. I am bound to pay about 100 Pounds to *Lucius Cincius*, on the 13th of *February*. I beg you will take care that I have, as soon as possible, the Things which you have bought or procured for me. I likewise intreat, that you

(1) *Orig. Xenopabñ. Utiliter doctum.*

(2) *Orig. Pater nobis decessit A. D. viii. kal. Decembr.* I have translated this in the softest Sense I could for the Honour of *Cicero*. I am unwilling to think, that it is his Father's Death he mentions here in so light a Manner, when he is so profuse in his Encomiums upon the Misfortunes even of his Acquaintances, or that his near Prospect of being raised to his highest Honours of his Country, had made him forget his Duty to a Parent, of whom, so far as we know of, he had no Reason to be ashamed. But indeed if this Letter was wrote, as it most probably was, towards the End of the Year of *Rome* 685, or the Beginning of 686, the Father's Death is premature by at least three Years, if according to *Asconius*, the ancient Scholiast, he did not die till *Cicero* stood for the Consulship.

(3) *Orig. Γυμνασιῶν. Aptæ Gymnasia.*

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will think upon what you promised me, about filling my Library. Your agreeable Company forms all the future Prospect of Pleasure, which I hope to enjoy, when I have a Relaxation from Business.

EPIST. IV.

ALL your Concerns are as we could wish them. My Brother *Quintus* and I, esteem and love your Mother and Sister. I have spoken with *Acutilius*; he denies that he has received any Advice from his Attorney, and is surpris'd how that Misunderstanding could arise in his refusing to give you Security (1) against all farther Demands. You mention that you have put an End to the Affair of *Tadius*, who, I understand, is well satisfied with your Decision, and wonderfully pleased with your Kindness. Take my Word for it, a certain Acquaintance of ours (2), a Man of Worth, and my very good Friend, is heartily picqued at you. If I knew how you stood affected towards him, then I should know in what Manner to behave.

According to your Advice, I paid to *Lucius Cincius* the 100 Pounds for the Statues from *Megara*. I am now wonderfully delighted with the Thoughts of the *Mercuries* (3) of *Pentelic* Marble

(1) *Orig. Quod ille recusavit satisfdari.* This Kind of Security, or Discharge in full, seems to have been usual at the finishing all Differences amongst the *Romans*, and the mention of it is frequently to be met with in their Author's Writings.

(2) This appears to have been *Luceius*.

(3) *Orig. Hermæ tui Pentelici cum capitibus æneis.* From this Letter the Reader may have some Idea of the Elegance and Magnificence

Me with their brazen Heads, as you mentioned in your Letters. Therefore I beg that you would send them to me, with the Statues, and every Thing else that you shall think suitable to this Place, to my Collections, and to your own fine Taste ; as many of them, and as soon, as possible, especially those that are ornamental for a Study and a Gallery. For I have such a Passion in this way, that I apply to you for Assistance, though I almost meet with Reproaches from others. If the Ship, belonging to *Lentulus*, is not ready, do you put them on board any Vessel you please. My charming *Tulliola* calls upon me as her Security, and is grown a perfect Dun for the Present you promised her. But I will rather swear off my Engagements than perform the Payment.

E P I S T. V.

I Hear too seldom from you, though you can find more Conveyances for *Rome* than I can for *Athens* ; and I am more certain to be found at *Rome*, than you are at *Athens*. It is this Uncertainty which curtails this Letter ; for not knowing where you may be, I am unwilling, that this our familiar Chat should fall into the Hands of Strangers.

I am excessively impatient for the *Megaric* Sta-

Magnificence of Cicero's *Tusculanum*. *Megara* was a City of *Attica*, famous for a beautiful Kind of Marble. The *Pentelic* Marble was so called from its being of five Colours, according to *Pausanias*. The Figures here mentioned, I take to have been what we call *Therms*, or the Heads of *Mercury*, *Hercules*, or any other Head, of Brass, upon a Marble Pedestal, and as high as an ordinary Person, rather than Statues.

8 CICERO'S EPISTLES

tues, and the *Mercuries* which you have promis'd me in your Letters. Don't scruple to send me every Thing of that kind that shall fall in your way, and may be proper for my Academy ; nor make the least doubt of their being paid for upon Demand (1). This is the only Pleasure I now pursue ; I am in search of every thing that is ornamental for a Study (2). *Lentulus* promises the Convenience of his Ships. I beg that you would carefully mind those Particulars. *Cbilius* (3) intreats you, as I do, at his Intreaty, that you will send hither the Rites of the *Eumolpidæ* (4).

EPIST. VI.

WHEN I was at *Tusculanum* (so (5) much for your "when I was at *Ceramicus*.") But, to be serious, when I was there, a young Slave, from your Sister, brought me a Letter from you,

(1) *Orig. Arcæ nostræ confidito. Solvere ex Arcâ* amongst the Romans was a Payment made in ready Cash, in Contradistinction to *solvere ex mensâ*, when the Creditor went for Payment to one of the public Bankers.

(2) *Orig. Γυμνασιῶν. Aptæ Gymnasio.*

(3) He was a Poet, and the *Eumolpidæ* were certain Priests of *Ceres Eleusium*, with an Account of whose Rites *Cbilius*, perhaps, intended to enrich his Poems.

(4) *Orig. Εὐμολπίδων πάτρια. Eumolpidarum ritus patrios.*

(5) There is a good deal of Humour here. *Atticus* had begun his Letter, "When I was at *Ceramicus*," which was a Place lying without the Walls of *Athens*, where their greatest Generals and Citizens had been buried at the public Expence, and was adorned with their Monuments and Statues. This then being one of the most celebrated Parts in the World, *Cicero*, in a humorous Kind of Contrast, opposes to it his *Tusculanum*, without foreseeing that a Time would come when the Name of *Tusculanum* would survive that of *Ceramicus*.

and

to ATTICUS.

and told me that a Messenger was to go off express for you that very Afternoon. It was therefore proper that I should write somewhat in answer to your Letter; though the Shortness of the Time makes me very brief. In the first Place then, I absolutely undertake, for the Abatement of our Friends (1) Anger, if not for the entire Return of his Friendship. Though of myself I endeavoured to do this before, yet I will now act with double Diligence, I will apply to him with double Zeal, as I perceive from your Letter, that you are so earnest in that Matter. You must, however, understand that he is dreadfully piqued; but as I see no weighty Reason he has to be so, I am in great Hopes that he will know his Duty as a Man of Sense, and act by my Advice (2).

I beg that you will put on board as soon as you conveniently can, our Statues and the *Mercuries*, which you mentioned, and every other Ornament that is the Product (3) of that Country, where you are well acquainted, especially those that are proper for a Place, either of Exercise or Study. For now that I am upon the Spot, the Place and the Appearance of it dictate all I write. Be so good likewise as to procure me some Mouldings, which I can employ upon the Cieling of my Entry, and for embossing Lids for my two Fonts (4). Pray take Care

(1) Viz. *Luccius*.

(2) Orig. *Confido illum fore in officio*. This Expression is very philosophical, and is best understood by the System of Morals laid down by our Author in other Places and his Writings.

(3) Orig. *Oikoumen. Proprium*.

(4) Orig. *Præterea typos tibi mando, quos in theatro atrioli possim includere, & putealia figillata duo*.

how

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how you dispose of your Library (1) to any one, let him bid for it ever so high ; for I am saving all my Perquisites, that I may be able to purchase that Relief for my old Age. My Brother's Sentiments, I am persuaded, are agreeable to what I have always wished and endeavoured ; amongst many other Proofs of this, your Sister's Pregnancy is not the least.

As to my standing for the Prætorship, I remember I gave you a Leave of Absence, and so I have acquainted your Friends, who might otherwise expect you. I am so far from calling upon your Attendance, that I even discharge it ; because I am persuaded it is much more for your Interest to be employed as you now are, than it could be for mine, for you to be present at my Election. I therefore beg you to be as much at ease on that Head as if you were residing where you are, only to negotiate my Concerns. Assure yourself you shall find and hear, that my Sentiments, with regard to you, shall be the same, as if I succeeded, in your Presence, nay by your Interest. *Tulliola* has set you a Day to answer in Person, and discharges my Engagements for your Performance.

(1) *Pomponius Atticus* was a great Oeconomist, and consequently had it in his Power to do many generous Things. In this last Light, and that of a Man of fine Taste, both in Life and Literature, he stands amongst the most amiable Characters of Antiquity. The Library here mentioned was composed of Books, transcribed by certain learned Slaves he kept for that Purpose, and which he sold for Money.

EPIST.

to ATTICUS.

11

E P I S T. VII.

WHY that was the very Thing I had been doing—(1), and I was strangely affected afterwards by two Letters, which you wrote me upon the same Subject. *Sallustius* was your faithful Assistant in prompting me to employ all my Endeavours in treating with *Luceius* about his being reconciled to your former Favour. But after I had laboured all I could, I found myself not only unable to recover his former Affections for you, but even to discover the Cause why his Sentiments are altered. He talks, however, a great deal concerning that Arbitration of yours, and of several other Circumstances that gave him Offence before you left this Place; but take my Word for it, he has something else that is more deeply rooted in his Mind; somewhat that neither your Letters nor my Agency can so effectually remove, as you could, were you present in Person, by your Discourse, and that familiar Look, which you know so well how to assume; if you think the Matter worth so much, (as you certainly will) if you regard my Advice, and act consistent with your own Character of Politeness. Be not, however, surprized, that I am now diffident about what I wrote before, when I acquainted you that I was in Hopes he would act by my Direction. The Obstinacy I find in him is not to be believed no more is the Steadiness of

(1) This Epistle seems to me to begin with a beautiful Abruptness, alluding to a former Letter of *Pomponius* on the Subject of his Difference with *Luceius*.

his

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his Resentment ; but he will either be cured of all these when you arrive, or, wherever the Fault may be, they will have disagreeable Consequences with regard to him.

As to what you write me, as if I was already nominated to the Prætorship (1), I can assure you, that, at this Time, at *Rome*, the Candidates for public Offices are, of all People in the World, the most conversant in dirty Practices ; neither is it known when the Election will come on (2) ; you will, however, hear farther from *Philadelphus*. In the mean while, I beg that you will send me, with the first Opportunity, whatever you have procured for my Academy. It is surprizing how much I am delighted, not only with living at, but even with thinking of, that Place. Indeed, I would have you take care to whom you dispose of your Books ; reserve them for me, as you promised me in writing. I am now as much in Love with them, as I am out of Love with every Thing else. It is incredible in what a wretched State, for so short a Time, you will find public Affairs, compared to what you left them in.

(1) *Orig. Me jam arbitrari designatum esse.* This must be understood of the Prætorship, though it is not named. It was plainly wrote before the next Epistle but one, that follows, and it is certain that *Atticus* returned to *Rome* before *Cicero* was named to the Consulship.

(2) The Intrigues of the Candidates this Year were so flagrant in putting off the Time for the Elections, which ought to have been about the Middle of *July*, that they gave rise to the *Cornelian* and *Calphurnian* Law for regulating them, so called, for its being moved for by the *Tribune Cornelius*, and drawn up by the Consul *Calphurnius Piso*.

EPIST.

EPIST. VIII.

DO you know that your Grandmother is dead (1) of her Longing to see you, and of her Apprehension lest the *Latin* Old-Women (2) should neglect their Duty in bringing their Victims to Mount *Alba*? I suppose that *Lucius Sausseius* will dispatch an Epistle consolatory to you on that Occasion. We expect you here about *January*. Pray is this founded upon idle Rumour, or upon your Letters to other People? For you have not mentioned a Word of it to me. The Statues, which you procured for me, are landed at *Gaieta*. I have not yet seen them; because I have not yet had so much Leisure as to leave *Rome*. I have sent Money to discharge their Freight, and am extremely obliged to you for making the Purchase with so great Care, and at so small an Expence.

As to what you have often mentioned in your

(1) I do not know whether *Cicero's* Pleasantry, on so serious an Occasion, as the Death of his Friend's Grandmother is quite agreeable to modern good Breeding. Somewhat, however, may be said in Alleviation of this Freedom, when we consider it as a Kind of Satire upon the *Epicurean* Principles of *Atticus*, which were far from being favourable to the pious Affections of a Child towards a Parent. It is upon the same Account, that he mentions *Lucius Sausseius*, who was a professed *Epicurean*, as a proper Comforter to *Atticus* on this Occasion.

(2) The *Feria Latina* were yearly celebrated by the Appointment of the Consuls upon the *Alban* Mount, in Memory of the Union of the *Latins*, and the neighbouring People whom he had subdu'd. It was a Kind of a Feast to which the Inhabitants of forty Towns contributed, and the Sacrifices were performed with so much Superstition, that *Cicero* sneers at the Performers by the Name of *Latinae*, or *Latin* Old-Women.

Letters

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Letters to me, concerning mollifying our Friend, I have tried every Expedient; but he is incredibly averse to Reconciliation. I suppose you have heard the Grounds of his Resentment. But you shall know the whole Truth when I see you. Though *Sallustius* is upon the Spot, yet can I not restore him to his former Favour. I write this, because he used to blame me for my Remissness concerning you; but he has now himself experienced, how untractable *Luceius* is, and that I have not been wanting in my Duty to you. I have promised my Daughter *Tulliola* to *Caius Piso*, the Son of *Lucius Frugi*.

EPIST. IX.

YOU put us oft in Expectation of your Arrival. 'Tis not long since, while, when we expected you every Minute, we were thrown into a Delay till the Month of *June*. Now, indeed, I am of Opinion, that you ought to come at the Time you appointed, if you can conveniently. You will then be present when my Brother stands for his Election, you will see me after a long Absence, and finish your Difference with *Acutilius*. It is the Opinion likewise of *Peduceus*, that I should give you an Intimation of this; for we think it is for your Interest that you should put an End to that Affair; my Services in this Respect, always have been, and always shall be ready (1). I

(1) This fixes the Dates of those Letters, and justifies the order into which I have thrown them. *Cicero* would not have judged *Macer*, unless he had been Prætor, which he certainly was

I have here gone through the Affair of *Gaius Macer*, to the wonderful and unparalleled Satisfaction of the People. It is true, I have been favourable to him, but I raised my Character higher with the People by condemning him than I could serve my Interest through him, had he been acquitted.

As

was in the Year of *Rome* 688, under the Consulship of *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus* and *Lucius Volcatius Tullus*. This *Macer* had been Governor of *Asia*, and had been accused of corrupt Practices by the People of that Province. He was so sure by his own Interest, and that of *Crassus*, to be acquitted, that he came during the Time of his Trial, in a kind of Triumph to the Senate-house, and finding that he had been unanimously condemned, he went home and died of Grief, according to *Plutarch*; but according to *Valerius Maximus*, he put himself to death, that he might save his Estate to his Family.

But I can't help thinking that *Cicero's* Translators and Commentators have all of them mistaken this Passage. The Original is, *Cui cum æqui fuisset, tamen multo majorem fructum ex populi existimatione, illo damnato, cepimus, quam ex ipsis, si absolutus esset, gratiâ cepissemus*. Monsieur *St. Real*, after *Minutius*, translates the Words, *Cui cum æqui fuisset*.—*Quoique je n'aye fait en le condamnant, que ce a quoi j'étois obligé en justice*. Monsieur *Mongault* translates it, *Quand j' aurois pu lui être favorable*. But we are to consider that this *Macer*, by *Cicero's* own Account (*Vide Brutus, cap. 238*) was no contemptible Orator, and according to *Seneca*, he was his Rival in Eloquence. *Minutius*, and all who have followed him, have fallen into a common, but a very mistaken Opinion, as if *Cicero*, because he was the Prætor, was therefore the Judge in this Trial, and had it in his Power to be favourable to the accused Party. But this was far from being the Case; for a Prætor in such Trials had no more Power than to collect the Votes of the Jury-Men, and to give Sentence according to their Verdict. Monsieur *Mongault* is indeed right in translating the Word *æquis* here *favorable*, but he is mistaken as to the Occasion upon which it was used; and *Casaubon*, in his Note upon this Passage, in finding Fault with *Valerius Maximus*, has fallen himself into a great many Blunders. *Valerius* tells us, that when *Macer* understood the Sense of the Court to be against him, he strangled himself,

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As to what you write concerning the *Minerval Mercury*, it gives me great Pleasure; it is an Ornament in Character to an Academy; that of a *Mercury* is in common to all Places of Exercise, but a *Minerval Mercury* is peculiarly graceful in a Place dedicated to the Exercise of Study. I therefore entreat that, as you write, you would embellish that Spot with as many other Ornaments as possible. I have not yet seen the Statues which you have already sent me; I am now thinking of going to *Formiæ* where they are. I will carry them all to my *Tusculanum*. If ever I shall begin to grow rich, I will embellish *Gaieta*. Keep your Books in your own Hands, and don't fear but I shall be able to make them mine. If I succeed in this, I shall out-do *Craffus* in Riches, and look with Con-

sending, at the same Time, a Messenger to *Cicero*, acquainting him that he died under Accusation, but before his Condemnation, "*Se non damnatum sed reum periisse*," and that his Goods could not be put up to public Auction, "*Nec sua bona habere posse subijci*." *Cassaubon* endeavours to shew, by many Authorities from the Civil Law, that, *Valerius*, he should have said *Macer*, was mistaken in the Conceit of saving his Estate from Confiscation, by dying before Judgment. But we are to observe, that those Authorities are all drawn from the imperial Constitutions after the Dissolution of the Republic, and can be of no Weight against the positive Assertion of *Valerius Maximus*, who lived soon after *Cicero*. *Cicero*, according to the same Author, receiving this Message, forbore to pronounce Judgment (*Quâ cognitâ, de re Cicero nihil pronuntiavit.*) The Account given us by *Valerius* being thus vindicated, *Cicero*, by his Conduct, had all the Reason in the World to say, that he had been favourable to the accused, who was indeed condemned but not sentenced. It is true, he was *damnatus*, but not before his Death, that is, he died *dum Sententiæ diriberentur*, while the Opinions of the Court were collecting and separating. For every Judge had his Choice of three Opinions, one for acquitting, one for condemning, and one for postponing the Trial.

tempt

tempt on the Country Seats and Estates of all Mankind.

EPIST. X.

THE following is a true State, so far as I can foresee upon Calculation, of my Pretension to the Consulship, which I know you have greatly at Heart. *Publius Galba* stands alone, and receives a fair flat Denial, in the Language of old Romans. The common Opinion runs, that this his premature standing is by no Means unfavourable to my Views; for his Suit is commonly denied upon Pretext of a Pre-engagement to me. From this I hope for some Advantage, when it shall become a current Opinion, that I have found a greater Number of Friends. As to my part, I was thinking to begin my Solicitations at the very Time when your Slave, as *Cincius* told me, was setting out with this Packet, that is, upon the 17th of July, when the Assembly was held for electing the Tribunes. My determined Competitors appear to be *Galba*, *Antonius*, and *Q. Cornificius*. I suppose at this News you will either be merry or sad. But to break your Brain, I must tell you that *Cesonius* too is talked of as a Competitor. *Acquilius* gives me no Concern; for he has forsworn all Competition, pretending Infirmities, and excusing himself from his great Business, as the Monarch of Law Arbitrations. As to *Catilina*, I am sure of him as a Competitor, if his Judges shall be of Opinion that the Sun never shines at Noon-Day. I don't suppose, that you expect me to mention *Aufidius* and *Palicanus*.

As to the Candidates for next Year, *Cæsar* seems to be sure of his Election. It is thought that *Thermus* will have a hard Struggle with *Silanus*, but they are so poor, both in Interest and Character, that I shall not at all wonder (1) if *Curius* is brought in; but in this Opinion I am singular. It seems to be most agreeable to my Views, that *Thermus* should be chosen with *Cæsar*, for there are none of the present Candidates, who, if they should stand in my Year, would give me more Trouble than he could, because he is one of the Overseers of the *Flaminian* Way, which would then be easily finished; I would therefore, with all my Heart, join him in the Consulship with *Cæsar*.

Thus stands the rude Draught of the Competition. For my Part, I shall apply, with all possible Diligence, to every Duty of a Candidate; and perhaps when the Forum Business relaxes a little at *Rome*, I shall make an Excursion in the Month of *September*, under Pretence of a Legation to *Piso*, so as to be able to return in *January*; because it appears as if *Gaul* had a great Influence in the Election. When I shall have thoroughly understood the Dispositions of our Men of Quality, I shall write to you. Every Thing else, I hope will go smoothly on, if I have only to do with those City-Competitors. As you are nearer to him than I am, pray take care to procure me the Votes of all who are with our Friend *Pompey*. Assure him that I will not take it amiss, though he should not appear at my Meeting. This is all I have to recommend to you upon this Head. There is, however, one Thing for which I ask your Pardon. When your Uncle *Cæcilius* was defrauded in a large Sum by *P. Varius*, he began to sue his

(1) *Orig. adingro. Impossibile.*

Brother

Brother *Cornelius Satrius* (1) concerning certain Effects, which he pretends *Satrius* received by a fraudulent Conveyance from *Varius*. The other Creditors joined in the Action, amongst whom are *Lucullus* (2) and *P. Scipio* and *L. Pontius*, who, it is thought, would have been the Assignee (3), if the Effects had been sold. But 'tis ridiculous to talk of an Assignee at this Time. *Cecilius* desired me to appear against *Satrius*, who attends me at my House almost every Day. *Lucius Domitius* is his chief Patron, and I am his second. He was of great Service to my Brother *Quintus* and me in our Solicitations for public Offices. I own I am greatly

(1) This Person was probably a Roman Knight, and esteemed by *Cicero*, and is mentioned by *Suetonius*, in his Treatise concerning famous Graminarians.

(2) *Manutius*, though a very able Critic, in his Note upon this Passage, mistakes this *Lucullus* to be *Marcus Terentius Varro Lucullus*, so called from his being adopted into the Family of the *Varres*. But *Lucius Licinius Lucullus*, so celebrated for his Victories over *Mithridates*, is certainly the Person meant here. *Manutius's* Conjecture is founded upon that great Man not being then at Rome; because he did not triumph 'till under the Consulate of *Murena* and *Syllanus*. But nothing is more certain than that there was a considerable Distance of Time between his Return to Rome and his Triumph, which was deferred by the Arts of his Enemies, and gave him such Disgust, that he gave himself more up to Country Amusements than became a Patriot in such dangerous Times; and he is one of those Men of Quality whom *Cicero* calls *Piscinarii*, Fish-pond-Fanciers. There is nothing remarkable in the other Names here mentioned, only that *Domitius* was surnamed *D. Enobarbus*, and was Antecessor to the Emperor *Nero*, and that *Scipio* was the last Man of Figure in his illustrious Family.

(3) *Orig. Magister*. This Term answers extremely well to our Assignees under a Commission of Bankruptcy, being generally chosen by the other Creditors, to manage and sell off the Estate of the Bankrupt, for the Benefit of the Creditors. And indeed, though it has not been attended to by Authors, we find a wonderful Similitude between the Roman and English Laws, both civil and criminal, of which we may have Occasion to speak hereafter.

embarrassed by my Intimacy at once with *Satrius* and *Domitius*, on whom I chiefly depend for Success in my Election. I laid all this before *Cæcilius*, and told him, at the same Time, that I should be ready to serve him, if the Question were only between him and the other; but that I must have a proper Regard both to my own Interest and Conveniency; for that this was the Cause of all the Creditors, who were Men of great Rank, and who could easily carry it through, without any one appearing in particular for *Cæcilius*. I perceived that he relished this Answer more disagreeably than I could have wished, and more than I thought became a Gentleman, and, for these several Days past, he has entirely avoided my Company.

I entreat you Forgiveness on this Head, and that you will consider the Rules of Decency forbid me, at this most troublesome Juncture, to oppose the most capital Concerns of a Friend, who has done me all the good Offices and Services in his Power. But if you have a Mind to be severe upon me, I give you leave to think, that Ambition⁽¹⁾ is my true Motive in the Matter. But even supposing that to be the Case, I think I ought to be pardoned; for it is not a small Matter I have at Stake⁽²⁾.

You

(1) *Cicero* here makes use of a great deal of Art; for in Fact, *Domitius* was not the considerable Man he represents him to be. This Frankness, however, which he pretends to put on to his Friend, who might have found him out, has a beautiful Effect.

(2) *Orig. Εως οὗ ἵσχυον, ἔδει βοίην. Quia non ultimæ partem aut tergus bubulum.* This is a Quotation from the twenty second Book of *Homer's Ilias*, and *Virgil* afterwards translated the Sense of it.

— *Neque enim levia aut, ludicra petuntur
Præmia* —

It is necessary here to make a general Observation concerning our Author's frequent Use of *Greek Phrases* and *Quotations*.
Nothing

You are sensible in what a Road I am, and how carefully I ought, not only to preserve my old, but to acquire new, Friends. I am in hopes that you will approve of what I have done, and I am sure,

Nothing is more common with *English* Writers than to compare, in this Respect, the *English* to the *Romans*, and the *Greeks* to the *French*. This has been done, even as a Justification of our frequent Usage of *French* Learning and Language, as it occurs hourly in Reading and Conversation. But this Parallel holds in no other Respect, than, that as *Rome* subdued *Greece*, so did *England* *France*, and the Conquerors were smitten with an Affection for the Manners, the Arts, and the Language of the conquered. But, whoever looks upon the *Roman* Policy in this Light, is greatly deceived. The Men of Learning, before the Times of *Cicero*, were, in *Rome*, but few, in *Greece* they were innumerable. When *Greece* was conquered, her Language had arrived at its Perfection, that of *Rome* was in its Infancy. The *Roman* Government was military, it had no Vacancy for Arts: the Constitutions of *Greece* were civil, and gave too little Encouragement for War; 'till at last their most celebrated States became so many Schools, filled with the Wrangling of Sophists and Pedants. The admirable good Sense of the *Romans* taught them to profit by all those Circumstances, and to embellish, but not as the *Greeks* had done, to weaken, their Constitution by literary Ornaments. They loved the Learning, they hated the Morals, of the *Greeks*. They availed themselves of the Profession, whilst they kept the Professor a Slave. With them, the Study of *Greek* did not weaken the Love of their Country, though they scarce, in the Days of *Cicero*, had any Learning but in that Language; and *Cicero* was the first Writer of great Eminence that brought his Mother-Tongue to speak the Language of Philosophy and polite Arts. I need not suggest to my Reader, how much this has been the Reverse between *England* and *France*, for those many Years, during which the *English* have continued under the Delusion of *French* Affectation. The *English*, I say, during that Time, have been as much superior to the *French* in Genius, Learning, and Language, as their Forefathers were to them in Arms; and that Affectation can be accounted for no other Way, than upon that senseless Principle, which hurries Sheep over the Pale of their own rich Pasture, to have the Pleasure of starving upon a barren Moor.

Atticus was himself so fond of the *Greek* Language, that he was proud of the Name of *Atticus* or *Athenian*, and *Cicero* affects it the more, because he writes to him. But we are, in general, to observe, that when *Cicero* is most profuse of his *Greek* Quotations, his Heart is most at Ease; for he generally pours forth his Anguish and Sorrow in *Latin*.

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I wish it. Your *Minerval Mercury* pleases me wonderfully, and it stands so charmingly, that the whole Academy seems to have been contrived on purpose to receive it(1). I am greatly your Friend,

EPIST. XI.

BE it known to you that under the Consulship(2) of *L. Julius Caesar* and *C. Marcius Figulus*, I am enriched with a Son, and that the Mother is in

(1) Orig. *ἡμῶν ἀνάλυμα. Soli doctum appensusque, vel Solis templum.* This is a very perplexed Passage in the best Manuscripts, and all Editions of our Author. I have translated in the Sense which I think most agreeable to *Cicero's* Manner.

(2) Orig. *L. Julius Cæsar, C. Marcius Figulus consulibus, filiolum auctum scito.* Though Monsieur *Mongault* has translated this Passage, as if *Cæsar* and *Figulus* had not yet entered into the actual Exercise of their Consulship, yet I am far from being clear in that Respect, and were it not for one Circumstance, that of his preparing himself to defend *Catiline*, who was tried under the Consulship of *Cotta* and *Torquatus*, I could have no Manner of Doubt in fixing the Date of this Letter to the 1st of *January*, which was the Day when the Consuls entered upon their Office; because, ingenuously speaking, I do not find that *Cicero* ever makes use of this Manner when he expresses himself of a future Consulship. Monsieur *Mongault* says, that the Circumstance of *Catiline* is decisive, against this Letter being dated under the Consulship of *Cæsar* and *Figulus*. But even that Matter is not so clear as he imagines. *Muretus* is of Opinion, that that Passage ought to be read *Catilinam competitorem nostrum defendere cogitabamus* instead of *cogitamus*. I do not indeed find that *Muretus* is supported in this Conjecture by Manuscripts; yet his Emendation is not without a strong Probability to support it; because when we read *cogitabamus*, it implies as if *Cicero*, while he wrote this Letter, had then given over the favourable Thoughts he had entertained of *Catiline*, and thus the Thing is thrown into an imperfect Time, which decides nothing. But indeed it is far from being impossible for *Catiline*, even under the Consulship of *Cæsar* and *Figulus*, to have had Occasion for *Cicero's* pleading for him, especially if we consider, that though he had been tried under the Consulship of *Cotta* and *Torquatus*, yet no Sentence had been pronounced either for or against him; so the Matter was still in Suspense.

Monsieur

a fair Way of Recovery. Not a Scrap from you all this while! I wrote you some Time ago very circumstantially with regard to my Affairs. I am at present preparing to defend my Competitor *Catiline* (1). We are satisfied, and the Prosecutor is greatly

Monfieur *Mongault* and the Commentators bring another Objection against the fixing the Date of this Letter, to the actual Consulship of *Cæſar* and *Figulus*, becauſe, ſay they, at the End of it, he deſires *Atticus* to be at *Rome* in *January*; whereas, if this Letter had been written under the Consulship, it muſt have been written in *January*. This Objection has, no doubt, in it ſome Weight, but not enough to conquer the Obſtinacy of the original Paſſage before us. Beſides, there is no kind of Im- poſſibility, ſuppoſing *Cicero* to have written this Letter on the 1^{ſt} of *January*, for him to have deſigned that Month by its own Name. I don't know whether there is even any Abſurdity in it, or whether the ſame Thing is not now in daily Practice.

But, ſay the Commentators, *Atticus* was then beyond Sea in *Epirus*, and had a great Journey to make to *Rome*, and if *Cicero* wrote this Letter on the 1^{ſt} of *January*, how could he expect that his Letter could have Time to reach his Friend, and his Friend have Time to be at *Rome* in that Month? But this, which Monſieur *Mongault* looks upon to be the main Objection, is, I think, eaſily answered. The Letter might have reached *Atticus*, by Sea, in a very few Days. *Cicero's* Anxiety to have his Friend at *Rome* often leads him into a Kind of Impertinence of Importunity, and he might imagine, that his Friend might meet the Letter on his Journey, and cauſe him to make the more Haſte. In ſhort, this was not a Letter of Advice for *Atticus* to come to *Rome* in *January*; becauſe it is extremely plain, from *Cicero's* own Words, that *Atticus* had already come to that Reſolution. Upon the whole, I dare not depart from the literal Senſe of the Original.

(1) Here I cannot help obviating a very ſtrong Objection brought againſt the Morals of our Author by Writers and Commentators, who have not rightly underſtood this Paſſage; nor indeed have any of his Apologiſts done him Juſtice. It is not, ſay they, much to the Honour of *Cicero*, to have known *Catiline's* Crime to be as plain as the Sun at Noon-Day; yet to have pleaded in his Favour. Monſieur *Mongault* thinks he removes this Objection, by ſaying it was the Practice at *Rome* for the greateſt Men to plead for the vileſt Criminals, and gives an Inſtance of *Hortenſius*, who pleaded for *Verres*. But this is a poor Apology. It contradicts the repeated Professions of our Author againſt ſuch a Practice, and indeed, even in this Age and

greatly so, with the Choice of the Commissioners for the Trial. If he should be acquitted, I am in Hopes that he will join me the more heartily in my

Nation, we must have a despicable Opinion of the first Man of his Country, if he should know, unknown to his Friends, another Person to be a public Pest of Society, and to the Constitution, and yet voluntarily appear to defend him from a just Prosecution. Let us, however, state the Matter as it really was.

Catiline returned from his Government of *Africa* to *Rome*, just as *Sulla* and *Autronius* had lost the Consulship, for their corrupt Practices, and their Prosecutors, *Cotta* and *Torquatus* were elected. Upon his Arrival, an Action was brought against him for Malversation in his Government, and at the same Time, he declared himself a Candidate for the Consulship. *Catiline*, at that Time, was far from standing in the detestable Light he afterwards appeared in to the Public. He applied to *Cicero* to defend him from the Charge brought against him, and he applied with such Address, and such a Shew of Innocence, that *Cicero*, in his Oration for *Cælius*, owns, that *Catiline* had almost imposed upon him; in short, I will not venture to say that *Cicero* did not promise to plead for *Catiline*. The disqualifying a formidable Candidate from standing for a public Office, by bringing against him a fictitious Charge, was, at that Time, a common Trick in *Rome*, and *Cicero* might with Honour undertake to defend *Catiline* against such a Charge; and I think it is very plain that this was a frivolous one. My Reason is, because, though the acting Consul, *Tullus*, procured a Prohibition against *Catiline*'s standing for the Consulship, and though *Catiline* did not stand; yet it is plain, from the Words of *Sallust*, that this did not happen from the Charge of Mal-administration being brought against him, but from a Point of Form, because *Catiline* was too late in declaring himself a Candidate. *Lucio Tullo*, says *Sallust*, *Marco Lepido Coss. P. Autronius & P. Sulla designati consules legibus ambitus interrogati pœnas dederant. Paulo post Catilina pecuniarum repetundarum reus prohibitus erat petere consulatum, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit.*

From this plain State of Facts, it appears that *Cicero*, consistently with the Character of a great and a good Man, might undertake to plead for *Catiline*, upon the Charge of Corruption, and, at the same Time, think it as plain as the Sun at Noon-Day, that he was disqualified from standing for the Consulship; because his Declaration was not within the legal Time. To conclude, there is strong Reason for believing, that *Cicero* did not plead for *Catiline*; because, if he had, his mentioning, that Circumstance would have been of great Service to his Pleading for *Cælius*.

* . .

Solicitations

Solicitations; should it happen otherwise, I must bear it as well as I can. I have Occasion for your speedy coming to Town, for it is the general and fixed Opinion of the Public, that your Friends, the Men of Quality, will oppose my Election, and I foresee that I shall stand in great Need of your Interest for gaining their Favour. Therefore take care, as you appointed, to be in Town by January.

EPIST. XII.

THAT Affair of the Trojan Lady (1) is really very tiresome, nor did *Cornelius* afterwards return to *Terentia*; and it is my Opinion that I must have recourse to the Bankers, *Considius*, *Axius*, or *Selucius*; for there is no touching *Cæcilius*, nor would he advance Money to his Brother under 12 per Cent. But to return from whence I broke off; never did I see any Thing more impudent, more sly, and more shuffling than she is. "I will send my freed Man,—I have given Orders to *Titus*." All Words (2) and Wind (3); yet I don't know but it may turn out well for me (4). For *Pompey's* Gentlemen Ushers (5) tell me that he will actually

(1) This Letter appears to be written three Years after the foregoing. This was a Nick-Name by which *Cicero* designed *Antonius* his Colleague in the Consulship, and it must be confessed that there appears to have been some dark Management at this Time between him and our Author.

(2) Orig. Σπῆλυς *Prætextus*.

(3) Orig. Ἀνίστορας *Dilationes*.

(4) Orig. Ταυτοματον ἡμῶν. *Casus melius quàm nos consulit*.

(5) Orig. *Prodromi*. I have translated this, as *Cicero* meant it, as a Sneer upon the numerous Creatures of *Pompey*, who were to be found in all Quarters at this Time, crying up the Services and Merits of their Patron.

stand

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stand to succeed *Antonius*, and at the same Time that the Prætor will move the Thing to the People. Now the Case is of such a Nature, that I cannot either with the Approbation of the worthy part of Mankind, or of the Public in general, with any Decency, undertake the Defence of *Antonius*; and, which is more than all, I have no Inclination to do it; for the following Accident has happened, and I recommend the whole of it, of what Nature soever it may be, to your Sagacity.

I have a Freedman, and a very worthless Fellow he is, I mean *Hilarus*, your Book-keeper and humble Servant. Concerning this Person, *Valerius* the Linguist informs me (and *Cbilus* writes that he has heard the same Thing) that he is with *Antonius*, who while he practises public Extortion upon his Province, gives out, that Part of the Money is collected upon my Account, and that this same *Hilarus* is sent as a Steward to keep the common Purse. This, I own, touches me sensibly (1); yet I cannot believe it, though some such Discourse there certainly was. Pray trace, examine, and make yourself Master of, the whole Story, and (if you can by any Means) force that Rogue out of those Parts. *Valerius* gives *Caius Plancius* as his Author for all this Story, and I am serious when I recommend it to you to search into the Bottom of it.

Pompey still appears to be my very good Friend. The Public highly approves of his Divorce from *Lucia*. I suppose you have heard that *Publius Clo-*

(1) I have not troubled the Reader with any Notes upon this Matter, because it is not very material to the History of that Time. We must, however observe, that some of *Cicero's* Cotemporaries were far from thinking him defensible upon the Head of his Collusion with *Antonius*.

Clodius (1) the Son of *Appian*, was lately apprehended at *Cæsar's* House, in a Woman's Dress, at a Sacrifice for the Good of the People; and that he was saved and carried off by Means of a young free Slave. I make no Doubt that you will be extremely uneasy at an Incident so remarkably infamous. I have nothing else to write to you, and indeed I have been in some Disorder. For my pretty Boy *Sophiscus*, who used to read to me, is dead; and his Death touches me more than the Death of a Slave ought to do. I beg that you will write often to me; even though you have no Subject, yet write whatever comes uppermost. Dated this 1st of *January*, under the Consulships of *M. Messala* and *M. Piso*.

E P I S T. XIII.

I HAVE now received your three Letters, one by *Marcus Cornelius*, which I suppose you delivered to him at the three Taverns; I received the second from your Landlord at *Canusum*, and you date your third from on board your Ship, after weighing Anchor. All of them speak with a Flow and Purity of Language; they are seasoned with Wit, and marked with Affection. They are such as provoke me to an Answer, which I have delayed, only because I could not find a sure Conveyance. For where is the Person, who will carry a Letter of any Weight, without relieving himself, by reading it over? Besides this, I did not know of any one going to *Epirus*. For I thought that after you had settled your Affairs, and performed the proper Rites at Home, you would instantly set

(1) This Story, and the Character of *Clodius*, as well as the whole Management of *Pompey* towards our Author, will be farther explained in the Course of these Letters.

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out upon your Expedition against *Sicyon*, to lay it under Contribution. I am even in an Uncertainty as to the Time when you go to *Antonius*, or how many Days you will spend in *Epirus*; I am therefore unwilling to trust either the *Acheans* or the *Epirots*, with Letters that are written in the Style of familiar Freedom. Some Incidents since your Departure, however, have happened, not unworthy to be communicated in Writing; but they are such as I do not chuse to expose to the Danger of being lost, opened, or intercepted.

You are therefore, in the first Place, to know that I was not the first whose Opinion was demanded, and the (1) Conqueror of the *Allobroges* was preferred to me, though this was not done without some Murmuring from the Senate, and without my free Consent. For I am thereby disengaged from my Obligations towards a worthless Man, and at Liberty to maintain my own Dignity in the State against his Humours. Add to this, that the second Voice is an Authority almost equal to the first, and is not too much enslaved through the good Offices of the Consul. *Catulus* votes the third, and if you want to know more, *Hortensius* is the fourth. As to the Consul himself, he has a Soul, at once mean and malicious, he is one of those four Laughter-looking Wranglers, whose very Figures are ridiculous, and who are more entertaining by their Looks than by their Language. To him the People are indifferent, the Nobles odious; from him his Country has no room to hope for ought that is good; because he wants Will to perform it, or to fear ought that is bad, because he is without the Courage to attempt it. As to his Colleague *Me-*

(1) Viz. *Cain Pif.*

tellus,

Atticus, he treats me with great Regard. He both affects, and maintains the Character of a Patriot; nor indeed is there a very good Understanding between them.

But I am apprehensive, lest this Affair, which is now in Dependence, may have great Consequences. I suppose you have heard, that when the Sacrifice for the People was performing at *Cæsar's* House, a Man came thither in a female Habit; that when the Virgins recommenced the Sacrifice, a Motion concerning it was made by *Cornificius* in the Senate; the Motion, I say, was made by him, lest you might suspect that it came from the consular Bench. That afterwards, the Matter, by the Decree of the Senate, was referred to the Priests, and by them pronounced to be sacrilegious; that, upon this, the Senate ordered the Consul to carry it, by way of Information, before the People; and that *Cæsar* has repudiated his Wife. In this Cause *Piso*, swayed by his Friendship for *Publius Clodius*, labours that the Information which he himself is to prefer, and prefer it too by an Order of the Senate, and upon a religious Account, should be quashed. *Messala* hitherto acts with Spirit and Severity. Your Men of Quality, through the Intercessions of *Clodius*, disliked the Proceeding; Forces are mustering; our Bench, who at first in this Cause behaved like so many inflexible Patriots, becomes daily more and more pliable. *Cato* is keen and pressing. In short, I am apprehensive, lest this Affair, neglected by the great, and defended by the wicked, may be the Source of many Calamities to our Country.

But as to your Friend (1) (the Person you know

(1) *Pompey*.

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of whom you wrote to me, and who not daring to blame, began to praise, me) he gives me now strong Proofs of his Affection. He caresses, he loves, he commends me in public; but all this in so awkward a Way that it is plain he secretly hates me. He has about him nothing of the Gentleman, nothing of the honest Man. There is in him nothing graceful, nothing noble, nothing brave, nothing free in his Sentiments of Government (1). But I will write with more Accuracy on this Head at another Time; for I am neither, as yet, well enough acquainted with Particulars, and I know too little about the Fellow who carries this, to trust him with a Letter of so great Consequence.

The Provinces are not, as yet, allotted to the Prætors, and that Affair stands just as you left it. I shall take into my Oration the Description (2) of *Mycene* and *Puteoli*, which you require. I understand that I was mistaken in the Date of the 3d of December, I own that I was before-hand strongly prepossessed in favour of the Passage of my Orations, which you recommend, though I durst not say so much; but now that they have your Approbation, their *Attic* (3) Graces are heightened in my Eyes. I have added somewhat to my Speech against *Messellus*; I send you the Book, since your Affection for me has given you a rhetorical Turn (4).

What can I entertain you with besides?—Now that I think of it, the Consul *Messala* has bought the House that belonged to *Antronius* for 20,000 £. What is that to me, say you? Nothing, why but

(1) Orig. ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς. In rebus quæ sunt reip.

(2) Orig. περιέγραψας. Descriptionem.

(3) Orig. ἀττικώτερον. Magis Attica.

(4) Orig. φιλορρητορικόν. Amantem artis dicendi.

that

that this Purchase justifies mine, and that People have begun to think that there is no Harm in making free with a Friend's Purse for buying ones-self into a little State. That Affair with the *Trojan Lady* goes but slowly on, but still I have Hopes. Do you perform what I have recommended to your Care. You may depend upon a more unreserved Letter from me. Dated *January 25*, in the Consulship of *M. Messala* and *M. Piso*.

EPIST. XIV.

IT would look like Affectation in me, should I tell you how much Business I have upon my Hands; but indeed I have so much, that I scarce have Time for writing this short Letter, and the little I have is snatched from Affairs of the highest Consequence. I have already wrote to you concerning the Character of *Pompey's* first Harangue. It gave no Comfort to the wretched, it had no Weight with the wicked. To the Great it came without Gracefulness, and to the Good without Dignity. The whole of it therefore was insipid. After that, *Fufus*, a very pragmatical Tribune of the People, by the Instigation of the Consul *Piso*, produced *Pompey* before the Assembly. This happened in the *Flamini*an Circus, where, that Day, was kept a magnificent Fair (1). He demanded of him, whether he was of Opinion that the Prætor should chuse the Judges; by whose Opinions, he, the same Prætor, was to be informed. This was meant of the Sacrilege of *Clodius*, which had been appointed to be tried by the Senate. Then *Pompey* spoke nobly of the Nobles (2), and in his Answer, was at

(1) Orig. *πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκκλησίαις*. *Convventus*.

(2) Orig. *πᾶσι τοῖς ἀριστοκρατοῦσι*. *Valde pro statu optimatum*.

great Expence of Words to persuade them how greatly he valued, and how greatly he had always valued, the Authority of the Senate in all Matters. Afterwards, the Consul *Messala*, in the Senate, demanded of *Pompey* his Sentiments concerning the Sacrilege, and the Bill which he had carried before the People. *Pompey's* Speech, in Answer to this, approved, by the Lump (1), of all that had been done by that Assembly, and as he sat down by me, he told me, that he thought he had given a satisfactory Answer concerning such and such Matters.

Craffus perceiving that he prepossessed the Assembly in his Favour, upon the Presumption that he approved of my Consulship, stood up and spoke of it in most magnificent Terms. He went so far as to say it was owing to me that he was still a Senator and Citizen of *Rome*, that he enjoyed Liberty; that he enjoyed Life; that he never could behold his Wife, that he never could behold his Family, that he never could behold his Country, without considering them as so many Gifts from me. In short, he laid it very thick upon that common Place, (you know the heightened Touches (2) I mean) where my Sword and Fire used to glow with such Variety of Eloquence, in the Orations of which you sat the supreme Critic. I was sitting next to *Pompey*; I perceived that he was dreadfully at a Loss to know whether *Craffus* wanted to captivate that Favour which he had neglected, or whether my Actions were really so glorious as to deserve unsought Applauses in the Senate, especially from a Man who had so little Reason to run so much out in my

(1) Orig. γινῶσκ. Generaliter.

(2) Orig. ἀνὰδρα. Ampullas.

Praises, as, in all my Letters, he had been nettled with the Compliments I had paid to *Pompey*. This Occasion rendered me extremely intimate with *Crassus*, and yet I openly received in good Part from *Pompey* all he said of me, however covertly it was expressed. But as to myself, immortal Gods! how did I show away (1) before *Pompey* my new Hearer! Then, if ever, I displayed all my Skill in the Turn and Cadence (2) of my Periods (3) in enforcing (4) and proving (5) my Facts; in short, I raised my Voice. For herein lay my Strength (6); I enlarged upon the Wisdom of the senatorial; and the Unanimity of the equestrian, Order; upon the Consent of *Italy*; upon the expiring Remains of the Conspiracy; I spoke of Corruption; I spoke of Indolence. You know my Powers of Eloquence on such a Subject; they were such that I abridge them here, because I think that the Sound must, before this, have reached your Ears.

As to Affairs at *Rome*, they are as follows: Our Senate is a second *Arcopagos* (7); nothing was ever more inflexible, nothing more severe, nothing more undaunted. For when the Day came for passing the Bill laid before the People by the Senate's Orders, all your smock-fac'd Youths, all the Cubs of *Catiline*, with *Curio's* girlish Boy at their Head, flocked together, and apply'd to the People to throw out the Bill, while *Piso*, the Consul, who had brought it up, now opposed it. The Life-Guards of *Clodius* took their Post upon the Bridges, over which the People of each Tribe were to pass to give

(1) Orig. *ἰσχυροτέρως*. *Ostentavi me.*

(2) Orig. *καμπύλαι*. *Flexus.* (3) Orig. *περίοδοι*. *Periodi.*

(4) Orig. *ὑπομνήματα*. *Argumenta.*

(5) Orig. *κατασκευαί*. *Confirmationes.*

(6) Orig. *δυναμεις*. *Argumentum.*

(7) Orig. *ἀγῶνος πάγος*. *Artopagus.*

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their Votes, and the Distribution of the Balls for the Suffrages was such, that none were given out mark'd with an Affirmative.

Here *Cato* flew up into the Rostrum and made an Invective, wonderfully strong against Consul *Piso*; if that Speech can be called an Invective, which was full of Energy, full of Authority, and full of Patriotism. He was seconded by our Friend *Hortensius* and many other great Men; but, above all, the Zeal of *Favonius* was remarkable. By this Assembly of Nobles, the Assembly of the People was dissolved, and the Senate was called. It was then decreed, in a full House, to address the People to pass the Bill, though *Piso* opposed it, and *Clodius* crawled at the Feet of all the Senators, Man by Man. About fifteen Senators voted with *Curio* in opposing this Resolution of the Senate, against, at least, four hundred, who were for it. The Resolution was agreed to, and then the Tribune *Fufius* gave up the Point. The next Recourse of *Clodius* was to harangue the People in a pitiful Strain, in which he loaded, with Reproaches, *Lucullus*, *Hortensius*, *Caius Piso*, and the Consul *Messala*. As to me he only taunted me with the old Saying, "that I had discovered every Thing (1)". The Senate has come to a Resolution, that nothing should be transacted concerning the Provinces of the Præ-

(1) This was an Expression very often in the Mouth of *Cicero*, when *Catiline's* Conspiracy was found out. He appears to have made use of it in a pretty arbitrary Manner, when he was called upon to produce Evidence against the Conspirators. When the Heat of the Time was over, and when the People of *Rome* begun to reflect, that the best Blood of *Rome* had been shed without Law; the Enemies of *Cicero* succeeded in persuading them, that it had been shed against Evidence likewise. Thus the Expression (*se comperisse omnia*) became odious, and at last operated to his Ruin.

tors, the appointing Ambassadors, or any other Business, before the Bill shall be passed.

So much for the Affairs of *Rome*. But hold—there is something I must tell you which is fallen out beyond my Hopes. *Messala* is an excellent, brave, determined, active Consul. He praises, he loves, he even imitates, me. As for Consul *Piso*, he is the less vicious through one Vice; I mean, that he is indolent, drowsy, unexperienced, and awkward in Business (1), but so very perverse (2) in his Disposition, that he conceived a Hatred for *Pompey*, after hearing the Speech he made in praise of the Senate. It is therefore surprising to what a Degree he is hated by all Men of Virtue. Nor indeed is this more the Effect of his Friendship for *Clodius*, than his natural Propensity towards desperate Men and Measures. He has not his Fellow amongst all the Magistrates. All our Tribunes are Men of Worth, excepting *Fufius*; as to *Cornutus*, he is a *Cato* in Miniature.

What can I add more? Yes, as to my private Affairs, the *Trojan Lady* (3) has been as good as her Word. Do you be so kind as to remember the Commissions I sent you. My Brother *Quintus*, who has bought the other Part of the *Argiletan* Buildings for about 3400 *l.* wants to sell his Estate at *Tusculum*; that, if possible, he may purchase the House belonging to *Pacilius*. You must be Friends with *Luceius*. I see the poor Man is in Pain about it. I will do all I can to bring it about. Do you, my Friend, acquaint me with the first Opportunity what you are doing, where you are, and how your Business goes on. *February 13th.*

(1) Orig. ἀνεπαρκής. Rebus agendis ineptissimus.

(2) Orig. κακίστος. Depravatus.

(3) Orig. Τρωάς. Tenuis.

EPIST. XV.

YOU have heard that my dearest Brother *Quintus* has obtained the Government of *Asia*; for I make no Doubt, that this Report has reached you sooner than any of my Letters can. Now as we have ever been excessively fond of Applause; as we are reckoned to be what we really are, Admirers of the *Greeks* (1), and as on Account of our Country, we have incurred the Hatred and Enmity of many Persons; let not our noble Courage be cast down (2). Do you, my Friend, take care and labour, that we may be commended and esteemed by all. I will write more fully upon this Subject to you in a Letter which I will give to *Quintus* himself. I beg you will let me know what you have been doing concerning my Commissions, as well as concerning your own Business; for I have had no Letters from you ever since you went to *Brundisium*. I long very much to hear how it is with you.

EPIST. XVI.

YOU ask of me what happened in the judicial Proceedings, which fell out so contrary to the Opinion of the Public, and you want to know, at the same Time, how it happened that I was engaged in fewer Skirmishes than ordinary. Well, *Homer*-like, I will plunge (3) into the Heat of Battle at once.

(1) *Orig.* φιλάδαντες, *Græcorum amatores.*

(2) *Orig.* παντοίως ἀρετῆς μνησκίω. *Omnimodæ virtutis reminiscere.* This was a *Greek* Proverb, which answers pretty exactly in the Translation.

(3) *Orig.* ὅτις ἐν ἐσχάτοις, *Ομηρικῶς. Ordine præpostero, Homericè.*

As to my own Part, as long as I was defending the Authority of the Senate, I fought with so much Keeness and Courage, that the Applause I met with rose even to Noise and Tumult. Give me Leave to say, that if you ever thought me brave in the Cause of my Country, you must have admired me upon that Occasion. For when *Clodius* had Recourse to his popular Assemblies, and there, made a wicked Use of my Name, immortal Gods! what Encounters did I sustain! What a Slaughter did I make! With what Fury did I charge *Piso*, *Curio*, and that whole Band! How warmly did I inveigh against the Corruption of the old, and the Lusts of the young? Often, so may the Gods help me, did I wish for you, not only as the Director of my Conduct, but as the Spectator of my Conquests.

It is true, that after *Hortensius* thought upon the Expedient for the Tribune *Fufus* (1) to pass the Law concerning Sacrilege, which differed in nothing from the consular Bill, but in the Nature of the Judges, (though that indeed was every thing) and earnestly contended for that Measure; and after he had persuaded both himself and others, that no Set of Judges could be found who would acquit *Clodius*; I then shortened my Sails, being thoroughly convinced of the Scarcity of good Judges; nor did I give any Thing in Evidence but what was so notori-

(1) *Hortensius* and the Senatorial Party were plainly imposed upon in this Measure. For under Colour of compromising Matters between the People and the Senate. he obtained, what we call in *England*, a common Jury; whereas had the Appointment of the Trial remained with the Senate, he must have been tried by a special Jury, that is, by Persons properly qualified to sit upon an Affair of so great Moment, and named by the Prætor.

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ous, and so well known, that I could not pass it over (1).

Therefore to come to your first Question (2), if you ask what were the Grounds of the Acquittal, I answer the Meanness and the Prostitution of the Judges, and this was entirely owing to the Conduct of *Hortensius*. He was afraid lest *Fufius* should give a Negative to the Law, which had been voted by the Senate, without foreseeing that it was much better for *Clodius* to be left to Infamy and Pollution, than to be tried at so scandalous a Tribunal. But his Hatred hurried him on to bring the Thing to a Trial, saying at the same Time, that it required no other than a Sword of Lead to cut the Throat of *Clodius*.

But if you ask me what this Judgment was that had so wonderful an Event? I answer, that others blame the Conduct of *Hortensius* from the Event; but I blame it from the Beginning. For as the Bill was thrown out with infinite Noise, while the Accuser, like a worthy Censor, challenged the worthless Judges, the accused, like a merciful Keeper of Gladiators (3), set aside the most valuable of the Company. As soon as the Court sat down, all Men of Virtue became extremely doubtful of the Event.

(1) *Clodius* wanted to prove himself to have been at *Interamna*, which is about forty Miles from *Rome*, at the Time when he was accused of Sacrilege. But *Cicero* swore that he had spoken with him at *Rome* but three Hours before the Sacrifice.

(2) *Orig. πῶς τὸ ἀποκρίσθαι. Ad prius.*

(3) The Gladiators were the Property of their Masters, who hired them out to those who exhibited gladiatorial Shews, and as they were often cut to Pieces on those Occasions, the Masters generally hired out the most worthless, and reserved the most useful to themselves; and in this consists the Propriety of *Cicero's* Allusion.

Never

Never was there seen round a gaming Table so scandalous an Assembly of dirty Senators, and indigent Knights or Tribunes, who looked rather like Bankrupts than Bankers (1). Some Men of Worth, indeed were amongst them, whom *Clodius* could not get rid of by his Exceptions, and those sate with a melancholy dejected Air, amongst Men who were so unlike themselves; and seemed as if they were violently apprehensive of catching the Contagion of Corruption from the others.

There was an incredible Strictness, upon their first entering upon Business, as to every thing that came under their Deliberation, and, in this, they were unanimous; no Indulgence was shewn to the accused, the Accuser obtained more than he asked for. You will easily believe that *Hortensius* was now not a little vain of his Foresight. There was not a Man who saw *Clodius* standing at the Bar, who did not look upon him as a thousand Times condemned. But when I came to give my Evidence, I dare to say, you have already heard from the Clamours of the Friends of *Clodius*, what a Rising was there of the Judges to environ me, how cheerfully did they seem to offer to *Clodius* their own Throats, as Pledges of my Safety. I considered this as a Circumstance more honourable for me

(1) *Cicero* here mentions the three Orders of which the Court was composed, viz. the *Senatores*, the *Equites*, and the *Tribuni ærarii*, which last were a Kind of Bankers or Trustees for the public Money, and were no other than the richer Sort of Citizens, who neither were Noblemen nor Knights. The common reading of the Original in this Passage is *Tribuni non tam ærarii quam, ut appellantur ærarii*. But I think the Sense is more clear, when we read with other Copies, *Tribuni non tam ærarii quam ut appellantur ærarii*, and *Cicero's* Jingle, as I have translated it, answers exactly in our Language.

than that which happened to *Xenocrates*, when your *Athenians* admitted his Evidence without suffering him to be upon Oath, or to *Metellus Numidicus*, when our Judges refused to look upon his Books of Accounts, after they were presented to them in the Course of his Trial. I say, that the Honour done me was greater than all that. *Clodius* therefore was daunted by the Expressions of the Judges when they defended me, as they would have done the well-being of their Country, and at the same Time his Advocates were dejected. Next Day, the same Croud resorted to my House which had attended me, when I returned Home, when my Consulship was expired.

Our illustrious Arcopagites called out, that they would not assemble unless a Guard was appointed them. This Matter was debated, and only one Member was found, who did not desire the Guard. The Thing was then carried before the Senate, where it was granted in a most formal, honourable, Manner, the Judges were commended, the providing the Guard was committed to the Magistrates, nor was there a Man found who imagined that *Clodius* would stand his Trial.

Now say my Muse how this first Fire began (1),

to speak in the Language of *Homer*. You know my bald Panegyrist (2), whose honourable Oration

(1) Orig. ἵστανται νῦν μοι Μουσά, ποῦτος δὲ πρῶτος αὐτῷ ἵμνωται.
Præcite nunc mihi, musæ, quomodo ignis primum illapsus sit.

(2) Orig. Nosti catuum, ex Nannejanis illum, illum laudatorem meum. The Nanneji were a Set of Men, who had been proscribed by *Sylla*, and *Crassus* (who is here spoken of) had amassed vast Riches, by purchasing their Estates at a low Rate.

In my Praise, I mentioned to you in a former Letter, I mean the Prescription-hunting Senator. In two Days Time, by Means of one Slave, (and him too taken out of a Fencing-School,) he finished the whole Affair. He called the Judges to him, he promised, he persuaded, he bribed, them. Nay (Good God! what an Age do we live in) some of the Judges, besides their Wages of Corruption, were promised Nights of certain Ladies, and Favours from certain young Men of Quality. This occasioned a great Absence of the worthy Judges, the Forum being filled with Slaves. Twenty five of the Judges, however, were so determined, while they were threatened with the greatest Dangers, that they chose to perish themselves, rather than see their Country undone. But thirty one of them obeyed the Calls of Hunger, rather than of Honour. When *Catulus* used to see any one of these Fellows, "to what Purpose, said he to them, did you demand a Guard from us? Was you afraid to be robbed of the Money that bribed you?" You have now, in as few Words as I could state it, the Nature of the Trial, and the Reasons of the Acquittal.

Your next Question is concerning the State of the Republic in general, and my Situation in particular. Be it then known to you, that that Government, which you thought to have been resettled by my Conduct, but I, by the Providence of the Gods, that Government, which, by the Concurrence of the virtuous, and by the Authority of my Consulship, seemed to be fixed upon a sure Foundation, unless some God shall behold us with Pity, is become

come like a Tale that is told (1), by this single Trial, if it can be called a Trial, which was the Verdict of thirty profligate, prostitute, and corrupted *Romans*, who abolished all Law and Right; for *Telma*, *Plautus*, and *Spongia*, and their confederate Scoundrels, voted that not to be a Fact, which was known to be a Fact to all Mankind; nay, I may say, to the Brutes themselves.

But after all, (to give you some Consolation concerning our Country) the Triumphs of the wicked in their Victory are not so unclouded as their Friends hoped. For, after giving such a Stab to the Commonwealth, no doubt, they thought, upon the Downfall of Religion, of Modesty, of public Justice and senatorial Authority, that Prostitution and Licentiousness, being thus victorious, would demand severe Vengeance from every Man of Virtue, for the Pains and Penalties which the Severity of my Consulship inflicted upon every profligate *Roman*. I am still the Man (for I do not think that I am insolently boastful when I speak to you concerning myself, especially in a Letter which I read to no other Person alive) I, let me say it, am the very Man who have recomposed the Dejection of my worthy Countrymen; I have encouraged, I have roused them Man by Man, from their Despondency; nay, I have gone so far, that by following at the Heels, and harrassing, those venal Judges, I have left their

(1) *Elaſum ſcito eſſe de manibus*. The Commentators have here let a moſt beautiful Alluſion paſs unobſerved. The great Diverſion in the *Roman* Farces, which were in dumb Shew, conſiſted in the Fellow who acted *Harlequin*, ſlipping out of the Hands of his Keepers or Purſuers. It is to this *Cicero* alludes, and I have tranſlated it accordingly.

Friends and Followers no cause to boast⁽¹⁾ of their infamous Victory. Never have I suffered the Consul *Piso* to succeed in any one Thing. After being in a manner contracted to the Government of *Syria*, I have stripped him of it. I have recalled the Senate to its former Vigour; I have raised it from its Dejection; I have ruined *Clodius* when he appeared in the House, not only with set Speeches, which were full of Authority, but with a kind of Invective, of which I will give you some Taste; for the whole of it has neither Force nor Beauty when the Fire of Action is gone, which you *Greeks* call the *ἀγών* (2).

For when we met in the Senate-house, upon the 15th of *May*, when I came to give my Opinion, I enlarged upon the supreme Authority of Government, and I was led, as it were, by the Hand of Heaven, to this Topic, "That the conscript Fathers should neither die away, nor droop upon the Commonwealth's receiving one Blow; that her Wound was of such a Nature, as that I thought it ought to be neither disguised nor dreaded, for fear of our incurring the Censure of Indolence from our Cowardice, or of Folly from our Ignorance. That *Lentulus* was twice, that *Catiline* was twice, acquitted; that this was the third Plague that had been let loose by the Courts of Justice upon the Commonwealth, *Clodius*, continued I, you are mistaken, you are reserved by your Judges, not for this City, but for its Prison. Their Intention was not to continue you in the State, but to bar you from Ba-

(1) Orig. Παῖσις. Loquendi libertatem.

(2) Orig. ἀγών. Certamen.

"nishment,

" nishment. Therefore Fathers Conscript, arouse
 " your Courage, resume your Dignity. The same
 " Unanimity of the worthy, as heretofore, remains
 " to our Country. Sorrow has indeed happened to
 " the virtuous, but their Virtue is still the same,
 " no new Mischief has been committed, that which
 " existed before is discovered. In the Trial of one
 " profligate Person, many others have been found
 " to be as criminal as himself."

But where have I got? I have inclosed almost an Oration in a Letter; I return to our Dispute. Up rises my delicate Boy (1), and tells me, forsooth, that I had been at *Bajæ*. That is a Lie, but what if I was? Is that like going in Disguise to forbidden Mysteries. What, cried he, has a plain Squire of *Arpinum* to do with warm Baths? That, answered I, I refer to the Person who keeps you (2), and who longed for the Water of *Arpinum*. As for you, you can take up with Salt Provisions. Shall we always suffer, said he, this King to

(1) Meaning *Clodius*, who was very handsome, and his Surname happened to be *Pulcher*. I own myself not to be excessively fond of the Wit that follows here: But it is proper the Reader should know that *Arpinum*, the native Country of *Cicero*, was rough, mountainous, and remarkable for its robust Inhabitants; that the *Bajæ* was the finest Place in *Italy*, and consequently the Resort of all the gay and the wanton of both Sexes. That *Cicero* imagined that *Clodia*, the Sister of *Clodius*, upon whose Interest *Clodius* chiefly depended, wanted, upon a Time, to have married him, and that *Clodius* himself, having been formerly taken by the Pyrates was thought to have purchased his Release at an infamous Rate. There is besides, in this Passage, an Allusion, which is not quite decent to explain. We can, however, collect from it the great Regard which was still paid, even in that degenerated State of the *Roman* Republic, to the Severity of Manners.

(2) Meaning his Sister *Clodia*. The Original is *Narra paratro tuo*.

have

have his Will? Why do you mention the King's Will (1) I rejoined? I assure you he has not put you into it as yet; alluding to his expecting the Estate of his Brother-in-Law *Quintus Martius Rex*. You have bought a House (2), have not you, continues he? Aye, but you have bought Judges, answered I. They would not trust you upon your Oath, said he. Twenty five out of twenty six, replied I, trusted me, but the other thirty one, because they would not trust you, took their Money before-hand. Upon this the Laugh was so loud, and went so much against him, that he sat down stupid and silent.

As to my Situation, it is as follows. I stand the same as you left me, with all Men of Virtue, but much better with the Scum and Dregs of the City. For it has done me no Hurt, that they saw my Evidence was not regarded. This was a little Prick of Envy which put me to no Pain, and the less, because the Abettors of that wicked Affair confess the plain Truth, that the Acquittal was obtained by the Force of Money. Add to this, that this same wretched, hungry, Mob, that Speech-loving Leech of the public Treasure, thinks that I am the sole Favourite with our great Man (3), and the Truth is, we are intimate together by a general and a joyous Familiarity, inasmuch that your Smock-

(1) I think I have not been unhappy in translating this Passage, though the Wit of it is founded upon a miserable Pun, the Name of one *Rex*, from whom *Clodius* expected a Legacy.

(2) *Cicero* had bought a magnificent Palace at so extravagant a Rate, and attended with such Circumstances, as raised many disadvantageous Suspicions of his Integrity.

(3) *Orig. Ab hoc magno*. Meaning *Pompey*, who by this Time began to be called *Pompeius Magnus*, *Pompey the Great*.

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faced young Gentleman, our Complotters in the Conspiracy, call him, in their Speeches *Cneius* (1) *Cicero*, so that I carry away, at the public Diversions and Shows of *Gladiators*, wonderful Clappings without one His mingling in the Applause (2).

We now expect the Meeting for the Election of the Consuls, into which, to the Disgust of every body, our great Man thrusts the Son of *Aulus* (3); but he fights for him, armed, neither with Authority nor Interest, but, with those Weapons with which *Philip* said he could storm all the Forts of the World, which had Doors wide enough to admit into them an Ass loaded with Gold. But our Consul (4), who resembles a wretched Mimic, is said to have undertaken the Affair, and to have the Money Agents at his House; but this I do not believe. Two Decrees of the Senate however, that are now made, give great Disgust, because they are thought to be levelled against the Consul, and the Motion came from *Cato* and *Domitius*. The one is, that even the Families of Magistrates may be looked into; the other is declaring them Enemies to their Country, who entertain Money-Agents in their Houses.

(1) *Cneius* was one of *Pompey's* Names.

(2) Orig. *ἰνὸν πατρίδα; (plausus) sine ulla pastoricia fistula auserebamus*. The *Pastoricia Fistula* seem to have answered to our Cat Call in the Play-houses.

(3) This was *Afranius* whom *Cicero*, by way of Contempt, designs from his Father's Name, who was a very obscure Person. *Pompey* however, (whose Creature *Afranius* was) wanted to make *Afranius* Consul, that he might procure a Confirmation of all he had done during his Commands in the Eastern Countries, which he had not been yet able to obtain.

(4) Meaning *Piso*, who had a very laughter-raising Aspect.

As to *Lurco*, the Tribune of the People, who undertook his Magistracy in Conformity with the *Ælian* Law, he is dispensed with both from the *Ælian* and the *Fufian* Laws (1), that he may carry through the Law concerning Candidates for public Offices, which Law that cripple (2) (in Heaven's Name) promulgated. Thus the Election, for Consuls, is put off till the 27th of *July*. There is somewhat peculiar in this Law, in its not rendering it penal for a Candidate to promise Money to a Tribe, provided he does not actually give it; but it is penal if, during his Life, he shall pay every Tribe an Annuity of about fourteen Pounds. I have observed, that *P. Clodius* has, before now, kept this Law, by promising Money which he never paid.

But harkee, my Friend, don't you perceive, that the Consulship (3), which *Curio* used to call a mounting to Divinity (4), will become no better

(1) The two Laws, mentioned here, had been in force for almost a hundred Years. The *Ælian* Law prescribed such a Number of Formalities to be observed, when any Thing came before the People, as made it next to impossible to observe them, and the smallest Omission was sufficient to defeat any Proposition. The *Fufian* Law enacted, that no Business should come before the People on certain Days. As the Senate therefore was very earnest for this Law, proposed by *Lurco*, and as it could not pass in Time, if every Thing prescribed by the *Ælian* and *Fufian* Law was strictly observed, both those Laws were, in this Case, dispensed with by a Decree of the Senate, though that Decree, strictly, ought to have been confirmed by the People. *Cicero*, very wisely, foresaw the bad Consequences of this Dispensation.

(2) There is an Allusion here that cannot be well expressed in *English*, but it may be explained by observing, that *Lurco* was lame, and the *Romans* thought it a very bad Omen for any public Affair to be managed by a lame Person.

(3) Meaning his own.

(4) *Orig. avoûéem. Consecrationem.*

than

than a Farce (1) if such a Fellow shall be made Consul? One therefore had better play (2) the Philosopher like you, and not care (3) a Rush for public Offices.

As to what you wrote me, that you are resolved not to go to *Asia*, for my Part, I rather wish that you should go, but I am afraid that you cannot conveniently with my Affairs. Yet I cannot blame your Resolution, especially as I have not, myself, gone to my Province. I shall content myself with the Inscriptions which you have placed, in Compliment to me, upon your *Amaltheum*; especially as *Cbilius* (4) has left us (5), and *Archias* has wrote nothing concerning me, and I am afraid, that as he has composed a *Greek* Poem for the *Luculli*, he has set about a *Cæcilian* Composition (6). I made your Compliments of thanks to *Antonius*, and I gave that Letter to *Manlius*. I have hitherto wrote to you the more seldom, because I was both at a Loss for a proper Conveyance, and for Matter to write. Farewell, I have done you Justice.

I undertake for whatever *Cincius* shall communicate to me concerning your Affair; but he is at present more employed in his own Business, in which I am not wanting to serve him. If you continue fixt to any one Residence, you may expect to hear from me frequently, but let me hear likewise

(1) *Orig. Fabam nimium futurum.*

(2) *Orig. φιλοσοφῆναι. Philosophandum.*

(3) *Orig. ἵατον. Relinquere oportet.*

(4 and 5) These were two Poets, Friends of our Authors.

(6) *Orig. Ad Cæcilianam fabulam spectat.* There is here a Play of Words which cannot be express'd in *English*, arising from *Cæcilius* being the Name of the Family of *Metelli*, and that of a famous comic Poet.

often from you. I beg you will inform me concerning your *Amaltbeum* (1), as to its Ornaments, its Form (2), what Poems, and what Anecdotes you have concerning *Amaltbeum* (3). I am pleased with the Thoughts of erecting one upon *Arpinum*, I will send you some of my Compositions in return; but I have at present nothing that is finished.

E P I S T. XVII.

THE great Fluctuation of the Sentiments, with Unsteadiness of Opinion and Judgment, of my Brother *Quintus*, is made quite plain to me by your Letters, in which you send me Copies of his. This gives me Trouble and Concern proportioned to the great Affection which I retain for you both; nor do I less wonder, what Incident has given my Brother *Quintus* such Disgust and such a Change of Sentiments. But, indeed, I have perceived, for some Time, the same Thing that I saw you suspected before his Departure, that somewhat lay uneasy upon his Spirits, that somewhat hurt his Mind, and that some ugly Suspicions were taking Root within him. I had, for a great while before, often endeavoured to cure him of this, and I redoubled my Endeavours after the Provinces were allotted, but I neither understood his Disgust to be so great as your Letters express, nor did I make the Progress I could have wished for. I comforted myself however with the Thoughts that he

(1) Orig. *Αμαλθίων*. *Amaltbeum*.

(2) Orig. *τοποθεσία*. *Loci forma*.

(3) Orig. *Αμαλθία*. *Amaltbea*.

would certainly see you at *Dyrrachium*, or somewhere thereabouts; when that happened, I trusted and persuaded myself, that every Thing would be settled between you, not only after you had talked and disputed with one another, but even at your first Sight and Meeting. It does not signify for me, to set forth to you, who know those Things so well, how gentle, how joyous, my Brother *Quintus* is, how susceptible of Disgust, and how flexible in shaking it off. But it has unfortunately happened, that I have no where seen him. Thus, the artful Insinuations, of some People, have proved too strong for the Ties, the Friendship, and the former Affection (which ought to be very powerful) that subsisted between you. But indeed I can more easily conjecture, then describe the Root of this Uneasiness, because I am afraid, that, while I defend my own Relations (1), I may bear hard upon yours. For my Opinion is, that, if any disadvantageous Impression has been made upon him at Home, whatever it is, it may be removed at Home; but when I see you, I shall be more at Liberty in laying before you the Rottenness of this whole Affair, which extends farther than it appears. I am quite ignorant what grounds my Brother had, strong enough to induce him to write those Letters to you from *Theſſalonica*, or to express himself as you think he did, both at *Rome*, and upon his Journey with your Friends; but all my Hopes, of composing this Uneasiness, rest upon your good Nature. For if you lay it down as a Rule, that the Minds of the

(1) Alluding: *Penponia*, Sister to *Atticus*, and Wife to *Cicero's* Brother,

best of Men are oftentimes easily irritated, and easily pleased, and that this Pliancy, as I may call it, or Softness of Nature, is, for the most Part, attached to the most excellent Dispositions, and, above all Things that we ought to bear with one another's Uneasiness, Failings, and Humours, even though hurtful, I am in hopes that all these Matters will be made easy. I beg that you would contribute all that lies in you towards this, for it is with me, who love you above all Things, a Point of the utmost Consequence, that all my Friends should love you, and that you should love them.

That Part of your Letter to me, was, by no Means, necessary, in which you explain what Posts, both in the City and the Provinces, you have at certain Times, and even under my Consulship, declined. I am no Stranger to the candid, noble, Disposition of your Mind, nor did I think that there ever was any Thing not in common between us, excepting the different Purposes of the Life we chose. I was prompted, by a certain Ambition, to the Pursuit of public Offices; your View, and an irreprehensible View it was, led you to Retirement with Dignity. As to that solid Glory that has its Root in Probity, in Application, and in the Observance of Duties, I neither give myself, nor any Man in the World, the Preference to you. With Regard to Affection towards me, after that of my Brother and my Family, I believe yours to be the greatest. I have seen, believe me, I have thoroughly seen, amidst my various Situations of Life, both your Joys and your Perplexities. Often did your kind Compliments, upon my Success, add to

my Pleasure; often did your Consolation, in my Trouble, take from my Pain.

But now, while you are absent, irreparable is my Loss, not only for your excellent Advice, but for those Entertainments of your Discourse which were, to me, so agreeable. Need I mention the Affairs of the Public, a Province, in which I never can permit myself to be remiss? Need I mention my Employments in the *Forum*, to which I have been hitherto led in my Pursuit of public Honours, and which I now pursue that I may maintain the Dignity to which they have raised me? Need I mention my domestic Concerns, in which I was so much at a Loss, both before, and since, the Departure of my Brother, for you, and your Advice. In short, it is incompatible with my Toil, with my Rest, with my Business, with my Pleasure, with my Affairs in the *Forum*, with my Affairs in my Family, with my Public, with my private, Concerns, that I should be longer without your endearing Counsels, your best beloved Conversation.

Often did Bashfulness check both of us from mentioning those Matters, but now such mention is absolutely necessary, on Account of that Passage, in your Letter, in which you vindicate and establish with me, the Purity of your Character and Person. But now it comes into my Mind, that, under the untowardly Situation of my Brothers estranged and rankled Temper, there is this happy Circumstance, that you have formerly, at Times, declared your Resolution of declining the Province to me and your Friends, and we were fully satisfied of your Intention. Therefore, as you have not been in Compa-

ny

ny together, this Measure will appear the Result of your Inclination and Judgment, and not of any Difference and Dissention between you. Thus the Violation, that has happened to the Friendship betwixt you and him, shall be removed, and that which is now so religiously preserved between you and me, shall become inviolable.

The State of public Affairs, in which we now live, is weak, wretched, and variable. I suppose you have heard that our Knights are almost at open Variance with the Senate. The first Thing they took very much amiss, was a Decree which passed the Senate, for enquiring into their corrupt Practices as Judges. I happened not to be present when this Decree passed, and perceived that, without their speaking any Thing above board, the Equestrian Order were highly disgusted with this Decree, I reproached the Senate concerning it, as I thought became me, in the most peremptory Manner, and considering the Dirtiness of the Cause, I enlarged with great Weight and Authority.

There is another favourite Point with the Knights, that is almost insupportable, but which I not only backed but enforced. Those of *Asia*, who have farmed the public Revenue of the Censors, complained in the Senate-house, that they are in Danger of breaking, through the Avarice of the Censors; that the Revenues are rated too high, and they demanded a Reduction of the Bargain. I was the first who spoke for this Petition (1), and I only was its second Support. For *Crassus* pushed them

(1) *Ego princeps in adiutoribus, atque adeo secundus.* All this Management shows how pliable a Politician *Cicero* was.

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on to this presumptuous Demand. The whole Affair is odious; their Demand is shameful, and implies an Acknowledgement of their Rashness. There was the greatest Danger that they would come to an open Breach with the Senate, if they did not obtain somewhat. The Weight of this whole Affair fell upon me, and I succeeded so far, that the Senate met in great Numbers, and with great Frankness; and on the 1st and 2d of *December*, I enlarged much upon the Dignity of the two Orders, and the Union, that ought to subsist between them. The Affair however was not finished; but the Dispositions of the *Senators* are manifest. For *Metellus*, the Consul, was the only Member who opposed me. *Cato* however, our Patriot Hero, was about to have spoke, but the Question did not come to him till it was dark (1), and the House rose.

Therefore, agreeable to my Plan and Disposition, I am at all the Pains in the World to cement this Coalition. But, because those Matters are very delicate, I am paving a certain, and a safe Way, as I hope, for preserving my Interest; of which, though I cannot sufficiently explain it in Writing, yet I will give you some little Hint of my Manner. I am extremely intimate with *Pompey*.—I know what you are about to say, but I will use Caution where Caution ought to be used; I will, however, take another Opportunity of writing you more fully concerning my Schemes in public Affairs.

You must know that *Lucceius* has it in his Head

(1) It appears from this, and many other Passages, that the Senators spoke and voted, according to their Seniority and Rank.

to stand forthwith for the Consulship, for no more than two Candidates are talked of. *Cæsar* thinks of uniting with *Lucceius*, by the Means of *Arrius*, and *Bibulus* imagines that he can unite with *Cæsar*, through *Caius Piso*. This, you say, is ridiculous enough, but not so ridiculous as you imagine. What can I write you farther? What indeed! where there is such a Plenty of Matter. But so much for this Time. Let me know, if I am to expect you. You see how modest I am in asking what I so earnestly desire; I mean your speedy Return to this Place. *December 5th.*

EPIST. XVIII.

YOU must know that at present I want nothing so much as a certain Person, to whom I can impart whatever gives me Concern; the Man who loves me, who is wise in himself, the Man with whom I converse without Guile, without Dissimulation, without Reserve. I am now without my Brother (1); who is the very Soul of Sincerity and Affection for me. As to *Metellus*, he is unsocial as the Beach, the Winds, and the Wilderness itself.

But

(1) It is surprizing that Monsieur *Mongault* and Monsieur *Sr. Real*, who likewise, has translated this Epistle, should so egregiously mistake the Meaning of this Passage as they have done. Though the Word *Metellus* stands in all Copies, both printed and Manuscript; yet they have fancifully changed it into *Mei*, and connect it with *Amantissimus*, and both of them agree in translating the whole Passage, "*Car je n'ai plus mon frere, qui est du meilleur caractere du monde, qui m'aime si tendrement, & à qui je pouvois m'ouvrir de mes plus secrets pensées avec autant de sûreté qu'aux rochers & aux campagnes les plus desertes.*" Thus they are so sensible of the Impropriety of their Translation, that they have entirely omitted the Word *Aer*, for the Original ought to run as follows, "*Abeſt enim frater ἀφιλάσματος, & amantissimus. Metellus, non homo, sed litus atque aer, & solitudo mera.*"

I think, the repeating here the Original, must be a striking Apology to the Reader for my Translation of this Passage.

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But thou, my Friend, where art thou, who hast so often reasoned and talked away my Cares, and the Anguish of my Spirit; thou Partner of my public, thou Witness of my private, Concerns; thou Partaker of all my Conversation, thou Associate in all my Counsels, where, I say, art thou? So forsaken, so forlorn am I, that my Life knows no Comfort, but what it has in the Company of my Wife, my charming Daughter, and my dear little *Cicero*; for our interested, varnished, Friendships, serve indeed to make a Kind of Figure in the Forum, but they are without domestic Endearment. Thus, in the Morning, when my House is filled, when I proceed to the Forum, surrounded with Flocks of Friends, I cannot, in all that mighty Confluence, find a Person to whom I can vent my Humour with Freedom, or whisper my Complaints in Friendship.

I therefore expect you, I want you, nay I summon you to my Relief; for many are my Perplexities, many are my Troubles, which, did I once enjoy your Attention, I think I could dissipate in the Conversation of one familiar Walk. But I shall here conceal from you all the Perplexities and Stings I suffer from my private Affairs; nor will I trust them to this Letter and unknown Messenger. Yet (for I would not have you too much concerned) these are not so intolerable, as they are settled and teasing, and can be calmed only by the Counsels and Conversation of the Friend I love.

As to public Affairs, though they lie at my Heart, yet my Inclination, to offer them any Remedy, daily diminishes. For if I were to give you a brief State of what happened after your Departure, I think I should hear you cry out that the *Roman*
Government

Government could be of no long Continuance. For when you was gone, if I mistake not, our first Entertainment was a Scene in the Farce of *Clodius*. Here I imagined that I had a fair Field for checking Impudence, and for bridling our young Men; and indeed I was warm, and poured forth all my Strength and Fire of Genius, not from any particular Spite, but from a sincere Desire to serve my Country, and to heal her Constitution, which had been wounded by a mercenary, prostituted Judgment. Now you shall hear what followed upon this.

We had a Consul forced upon us, and such a Consul, as none but Philosophers, like us, can behold without a Sigh. What a Calamity was this? The Senate had passed a Decree concerning Corruption in Elections and Trials. This Decree never passed into a Law; the Senate was confounded, the *Roman* Knights were disoblighd. Thus did one Year overthrow the two Barriers of the Government, which I had erected, by taking Authority from the Senate, and breaking the Union of our Orders.

We now have another precious Year upon our Hands, and it begins with this notable Circumstance, that the anniversary Sacrifices of *Juventas* are not performed, because *Memmius* has initiated, into his holy Mysteries the Wife of *Lentulus*, who, like another *Menelaus*, took it so ill, that he has divorced her. It is true, the antient Shepherd of *Ida* injured *Menelaus* alone; but this *Paris* of ours has injured *Agamemnon*, as well as *Menelaus*. One *Herennius*, whom you, perhaps, know nothing of, is a Tribune of the People; but you may know him, for he is of your Tribe, and his Father *Sextus* used

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to be the Pay-master of your Election Money. This Fellow has transported *Clodius* into the Commons; and he has prevailed with all the Tribes of the People (1) to pass a Vote in the *Campus Martius* concerning his adopted Son. I gave him a proper Reception, as usual, but the Fellow is incorrigibly stupid. *Metellus* proves an excellent Consul, and my very good Friend; but he hurts his Authority, because he has suffered the Formality (2) of the People's assembling in Tribes to pass. As to the Son of *Aulus*, immortal Gods! what a Dunce, what a spiritless Creature it is, and how worthy is he of the Abuse which *Palicanus* every Day pours out against him to his Face. *Flavius* has promoted an *Agrarian* Law, in which there is, indeed, no great Matter, and is much the same with that of *Plotius*. But in the mean Time no Person is found, who so much as dreams (3) of the Good of the Public. Our Friend *Pompey* (for I would have you to know that he is my Friend) preserves, by his Silence, the Honours of

(1) *Clodius*, in prosecuting his Spite against *Cicero*, procured himself to be adopted in the Manner here related amongst the Commoners of *Rome*, to qualify him to be chosen a Tribune of the People. The regular Way of confirming this Adoption, was by the People assembling according to their *Curia*, or several Wards; but the Tribunes had no Power of summoning those *Curia*, which were composed of House-keepers; *Herennius* therefore assembled the People by their Tribes, at which all the Inhabitants of *Rome*, of a certain Age, assisted and voted, and where *Clodius* thought himself sure of carrying his Point, by his Interest amongst the lower People. It appears, however, that the Consuls had a Negative upon the Tribunes, in convoking this Assembly of the Tribes.

(2) *Orig. Habet dicis causa*. This appears to have been a cant Expression amongst the *Romans* in their Courts of Law.

(3) *Orig. ποδερκεδς ἀνὰς εἰς ὄρας. Reipublica vir deditus, ne quidem per annum.*

the

the triumphal Robe (1), which he is permitted to wear at the public Shews. *Craſſus* would not, for the World, ſpeak any Thing to diſoblige. I need to ſay no more of all the others, who could ſee their Country ſunk, if their Fiſh-ponds are ſafe. One Patriot, indeed, we have, but in my Opinion he is more ſo, through Courage and Integrity, than thro' Judgment or Genius, I mean *Cato*. He has for theſe three Months plagued the poor Farmers of the Revenue, tho' they have been his very good Friends, nor will he ſuffer the Senate to return any Answer to their Petition. Thus, we are forced to do no kind of Buſineſs, before that of the Revenue is diſpatched, and I believe even the Deputations will be ſet aſide (2).

You now ſee what Storms we encounter, and from what I have written, you may form a clear Judgment of what I have omitted. Pray think upon returning hither, and though it is, indeed, a diſagreeable Place, let your Affection for me prevail ſo far upon you, as to bear with it, with all its Inconveniencies. I will take Care that you ſhall not be fined for Abſence (3), by publiſhing and propa-
gating your Return every where. But if you de-

(1) *Orig. Togulam illam pictam ſilentio tuetur ſuam.* This Privilege is mentioned by ſeveral other Authors, and was conferred upon *Pompey* upon his Return from *Asia*.

(2) *Monſieur St. Real* translates this Paſſage, *Et je croi même qu'on renvoira à un autre tems les audiences des ambassadeurs*, and he is followed by *Monſieur Mongault*, but they ſeem both to be miſtaken. For the *Legationes* here ſpoken of ſeem to have been the Deputations mentioned to have been poſtponed in the fourteenth Letter, and regarded the Deputations ſent from *Rome*.

(3) It appears as if ſome Fine attended an Abſence from the public Emoluments by the Censors.

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lay your Return to the very last Moment (1), that will be like a Trader indeed ; therefore I beg that you will let me see you as soon as possible. Dated February 1st, under the Consulship of *Quintus Metellus* and *Lucius Afranius*.

E P I S T. XIX,

I Won't say, that if I had as much Leisure as you, but that if I had a-mind to make my Dispatches as short as yours are, I would outwrite you, and out-do you in the Frequency of my Correspondence. It happens, that in the prodigious and incredible Variety of my Business, that I never suffer a Letter of mine to come to your Hands, without some Intelligence or other, and without my Opinion upon it. In the first Place I will lay before you, as you are a good Patriot, the State of the Republic. In the next Place, as you are my dearest Friend, I will write you something, which I imagine you will not be displeased to know.

As to the Republic, we are chiefly taken up with the Fears of a *Gallic* War. For our Allies, the *Edui* (2) are in Arms ; the *Sequani* have been beaten ; the *Helvetians* without all Doubt have taken the Field, and made Incursions upon the provinciated Country (3). The Senate had decreed, that the Consuls should draw Lots for the *Gauls*,

(1) *Orig. Sub Lustrum*. These Lustra, every five Years in them the whole People were numbered, and were different from the Enrollments mentioned immediately before.

(2) The *Edui* were the Inhabitants of what is now the Duchy of Burgundy. The *Sequani* inhabited the *Franche-comte*, and the *Helvetians* were the *Swiss*.

(3) This Country is still called *Provence* in France.

that

that new Levies should be made, that all Dispensations should be void, and that Plenipotentiaries should be sent to the States of *Gaul*, to endeavour to prevent them from joining the *Helvetians*. The Plenipotentiaries named were *Quintus Metellus Creticus* (1) and *Lucius Flaccus* (2), and, as a Grace (3) to the whole, *Lentulus* (4); the Son of *Clodianus*. And here I cannot omit taking Notice, that, when of all the Consulars my Lot came out first, the Senate, in a full House, unanimously decreed, that I should remain in *Rome*. After me, the same Compliment was paid to *Pompey*, thereby intimating that we two were retained as Pledges of public Safety. I think I hear you now say what Occasion have you for a Herald (5), when you can so finely blazon out your own Praises.

Now as to City Affairs, they are as follows. An *Agrarian* Law has been most furiously carried on by the Tribune *Flavius*, at *Pompey's* Motion (6), which is indeed the only popular Thing it has about it. I was extremely well heard by all the Assembly, when I took from that Law every Thing that could be prejudicial to private Persons; when I excepted out of it that Estate which had been sold under the Consulate of *Publius Mucius* and *Lucius*

(1) He was Consul with *Hortensius* in the Year of *Rome* 684.

(2) He was Prætor during the Consulship of *Cicero*, who afterwards spoke for him in an Oration, which is still extant.

(3) Orig. τὸ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ μέγεθος. In lente unguentum

(4) He had been Questor. Thus those Plenipotentiaries were chosen from the Consular, the Prætorian, and the Questorial Ranks.

(5) Orig. ἐκφωνήματα. Acclamations.

(6) There was a great Difference between the *Lator*, or the Carrier through of a Law, and the *Auctor*, or its Mover for to the People.

Calpurnius

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Calpurnius (1), when I confirmed *Sylla's* Planters in their Possessions; when I secured to those of *Volaterra* and *Arretinum*, the Estates which *Sylla* had confiscated (2), but had not divided out; and there was one Measure to which I had no Exception, that the Money arising for five Years from our new Subsidies, should be converted into an Augmentation Fund, for making farther Acquisitions of Land. The Senate opposed this whole *Agrarian* Scheme, because they suspected that *Pompey* wanted to acquire some new Powers. He, on the other Hand, plied the passing of the Law, with all his Interest. As for my Part, I lost no Credit, even with the Friends of the Law, while I confirmed all private Persons in their Possessions (for the Strength of our Party you know lies in Men of Property) and I pleased the People and *Pompey* (for that too I had in mine Eye) by the Proposal I made of new Purchases; which if they were honestly managed, I was of Opinion would have scour'd off all the Filth of *Rome*, and might have peopled the Desarts of *Italy*.

(1) They had been Consuls in the Year of *Rome* 620, at the Time *Gracchus* passed the *Agrarian* Law, which afterwards cost him his Life. By that Law no private Person could possess above a hundred Acres of the Land which had been appropriated to the public Demesne; that all who possessed more should be obliged to part with it to the poorer Citizens, and that all the remaining demesne Lands of the Republic should be divided among them likewise. All this was so far from being executed, that the last mentioned Lands were sold to private Persons at an under Rate. *Flavius* therefore insisted upon those Bargains being void, and that the Lands should be applied to the Purposes of the *Agrarian* Law, and given to *Pompey's* Soldiers, though they had been in the Possession of private Persons for seventy two Years.

(2) Though the original Possession of those Lands was very unwarrantable; yet *Cicero* thought that, as it had continued so long, it was against true Policy to alter it.

But

But this whole Scheme grew cold upon the Breaking out of the War.

Take my Word for it, *Metellus* is an excellent Consul, and my very good Friend. As to that Thing, that Colleague of his, he is so very an Animal, that he does not know the Nature of the Purchase he has made (1). So much for public Matters; unless you think it a public Matter, that one *Horennius*, who is of your Tribe, a Tribune of the People, a very great Scoundrel, and a Beggar, at the same Time, has already very often applied to the People, concerning transplanting *Publius Clodius* into the Order of Commons; but he has been frequently opposed by the other Tribunes. These are, I think, all our public Matters.

As to my private Concerns; after the famous 5th of *December* (2), when, to the Envy and Hatred of many, I mounted to that splendid, that immortal Pitch of Glory, I have not forbore to exert a Magnanimity suitable to that great Proceeding, and to maintain the Dignity I then acquired and professed. But after I had first fully understood the Slightness and Giddiness of our Judges, by the acquittal of *Clodius*; when I afterwards saw how easy it was to make a Breach between the Senate and our Farmers of the Revenue, though I still kept well with both, then I could perceive plain Intimations, that I was hated by our easy Gentlemen (I mean your Fish-pond Friends :) From that Time, I say, I have thought it proper to enlarge the Foun-

(1) Meaning the Consulate, which *Cicero* implies to have been bought by the Consul.

(2) This was the anniversary Day of the Death of the Conspirators, with *Catiline*, whom *Cicero* caused to be strangled in Prison.

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dation of my Interest, and to strengthen myself with new Supports.

In the first Place, therefore, I worked upon the Man (I mean *Pompey*) who had been but too long silent, and got so much the better of his Taciturnity, that, in the Senate-house, not once, but often and in full Speeches, he adjudged to me the Glory of having saved this Empire, and this World, from Destruction. Though this is a Fact too bright to require an Evidence, and too plain to want a Panegyrist, and therefore, though his Applause was of no great Importance to me, yet it was to the Republic, because of some Reprobates who, from the unsettled State of public Affairs, were in Hopes of seeing *Pompey* and me counteracting one another. But we are now so riveted in Sentiments, that our Union gives the greater Strength to our Interest, and greater Abilities to serve the Public.

As to the Endeavours to stir up the Hatred of our wanton fine young Gentlemen against me, I have soothed them so much by a certain polite Deportment I assumed, that I am now their only Favourite. In short, I now throw out Invectives against no Person ; at the same Time, I stoop to nothing that is mean, or unbecoming my Character ; my whole Conduct is so tempered, as that without swerving from my Duty to my Country, I apply to my private Concerns with greater Caution and Care than ever, on Account of the Weakness of our Patriots, the Wickedness of the Profligate, and the Malevolence of my Enemies. But I do all this in such a Manner, notwithstanding my new Coalitions, that still I think the artful *Sicilian*
Epicarmus

Epicbarmus is whispering me in the Ear the Words of his Song,

*Be ever watchful nor believe too soon
These are the Nerves of Wisdom (1).*

And thus I think I have given you, as it were, a Plan of my Conduct and Way of Living.

As to the Business, concerning which you have so often wrote me, I can, at present, do you no Service. The Decree, you complain of, passed through the great Zeal of the Infantry (2) of the Senate, without Countenance from any of my Friends. As to what you say of my attending, when the Decree was drawn up (3), you may perceive, from the very Words of it, that my Presence was occasioned by another Motion, which was made at the same Time. As to the Clause concerning the free People (4), it was wantonly added, and engrossed by the younger *Servilius* (5), who was amongst the last who delivered his Opinion. But it cannot, at this Time, be altered. And in-

(1) Orig. Νῆψι, καὶ μίμνω' ἀπιστεῖν· ἀπὸ ταῦτα τῶν φησὶν. *Vigilans sis, et memineris non temerè credere, hi sunt nervi Sapientiae.*

(2) Cicero means the lower Ranks of the Senators, who were called *Senatores Pedarii*, from their walking to the Side on which they voted, and their not being suffered to speak, because they had not arrived at the Curule Offices.

(3) When a Decree of the Senate was drawn up, a Committee of the Senate was generally present, whose Names were inserted as Witnesses to the Act.

(4) Those were the People who were governed by their own municipal Laws, and were exempted from Subsidies. It appears as if the *Sicyonians*, who were free People, had borrowed a Sum of Money of *Atticus*, and had mortgaged some of their Revenues for the Payment, which Mortgage was dissolved by the Vote of the Senate, and perhaps with great Justice.

(5) He was Consul in the Years of Rome 705 and 712.

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deed there has, for some Time, been a discontinuance of those Crowds of Creditors (1), which at first assembled in such Numbers. However if you can coax and squeeze some little Money from the *Sicyonians*, pray let me know.

I have sent you the Memoirs of my Consulship, written in *Greek*, in which, if there is any Impropriety or Unpoliteness to disgust an *Athenian*, I shall not, I think, make the same Apology to you as *Lucullus* (2) did at *Palermo*, for his own Memoirs, that he had besprinkled them with certain Barbarisms and Solecisms (3), that they might the more easily be believed to be composed by a *Roman*. If any such Ornaments are found in my Works, they stand there without my Knowledge or Consent. When I have finished them in *Latin*, I will send them to you; you are to expect a third in Verse, and then I shall have gone through every Species of Self-applause. Here you are not to tell me my Trumpeter is dead (4). For if there is, under the Sun, any Merit that exceeds mine, let it have its due Applause, and let me bear the Reproach of not having done it Justice. The Compositions, however, that I speak of, are not Panegyrics (5), but Narratives (6).

My Brother *Quintus*, in his Letters, makes great Affeверations to purge himself from having ever

(1) It seems, the Case of *Atticus*, was a leading One for many others.

(2) He wrote several Histories in *Greek*, particularly that of his own glorious Campaign against *Mitbridates*.

(3) *Orig.* σόλοισμα. *Olentia* solecismum.

(4) *Orig.* τίς πατὴρ αἰνῆσει. *Quis patrem laudabit?*

(5) *Orig.* ἑγκωμιαστικά. *Laudatoria*.

(6) *Orig.* ἱστορικά. *Historica*.

spoken

spoken a Word of you that was unbecoming; but this is a Matter that we are to handle with great Delicacy and Application, when we get together. I insist upon your paying me a Visit some Time or other. *Cassinius*, the Bearer of this Letter, appears to me to be a very honest, sedate, Man, to love you heartily, and to answer the Character you gave him. Dated *March* the 15th.

EPIST. XX.

IN my Return from *Pompeianum* (1) to *Rome*, *May* the 12th, I received, from our Friend *Cincius*, your Letter dated the 13th of *February*, and which I am now to answer. In the first Place, then, it gives me Pleasure to know that you are satisfied as to the Judgment I have formed, concerning your Affairs. In the next Place, I am quite transported with Joy that your Conduct has been so moderate in some harsh, unkind, Circumstances which passed amongst us, I mean you, my Brother, and myself. In this, I think you discover vast Affection, as well as the Sentiments of a great and a wise Man. Your Expressions to me, upon that Head, are so kind, so affectionate, so obliging, and so tender, that I have no Right to repeat my Counsels, or even to expect so much Gentleness and good Nature in any Man. I therefore think it highly improper to write more upon that Subject, till we meet, and then if any Thing offers farther, we will fairly discuss it.

(1) This Town stood near *Naples*, at the Foot of Mount *Vesuvius*, and was consumed at the same Time, that *Pliny* perished there.

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What you write to me, concerning public Affairs, is affectionate and prudent, and your Views and mine are, in the Main, the same. As to me, I will not give up one Inch of my Dignity, nor will I trust myself, without my Guards, in another Man's Garrison. The person, you write of, has nothing about him of the great Man (1), nothing in him that is elevated; every Thing about him creeps and cringes. My Connections with him, however, have, perhaps, served the Purpose of making my Circumstances more easy. But, by Heavens, it was of greater Service to the Public than to me, that I should repel the Attacks of profligate Citizens, by fixing, in my Favour, the wavering Affections of a Man so eminent by his Fortunes, his Authority, and his Credit with the Public, and to dash the Hopes of the Wicked, by bringing him over to extol the Patriotism of my Conduct. I would not, at the cheapest Price, have purchased this from the Teeth outwards, but I have managed every Thing in such a Manner, that my Dignity is not diminished by his Friendship, and his Authority is strengthened by my Countenance.

As to all Things, I manage them in such a Manner, as to avoid the Imputation of my having ever left any Thing to chance. As to my worthy Friends, whom you mention, and as to that Dignity (2) of Character, which you say I have acquired, I shall ever be so far from abandoning them, that, should they abandon me, yet shall I never depart from my former Sentiments. I would, however, have you to know, that, since the Death of

(1) Meaning *Pompey*.

(2) *Orig. Σωφροσύνη. Spartam.*

Catulus, I can no longer stand by the Party of the Nobles, with any Safety or with any Dignity. For as *Rbinton* (1), if I mistake not, says, "One half of them is good for nothing, and the other half thinks of nothing (2)." As to the Hatred of your Fish-pond-Fanciers against me, I will either inform you of it by Letter at another Time, or I will reserve it for our Meeting. In the mean while, nothing shall tear me from the Senate; and in this, I act upon Principles of Interest as well as of Virtue; nor indeed have I Reason to repent me of my Attachment to that Order.

I have already wrote you, that I had no great Hope from the Senate of your *Sicyonian* Affair. We have now no Duns; it will therefore be a tedious Matter to succeed that Way, and I would have you to fight, if possible, with some other Weapons. When the Decree passed, no Regard was paid to those whom it affected, and the Infantry divided for it in droves. Matters are not yet ripe for correcting it, because there are now no Complainants, and a great many People befriend it, some, through Ill-nature, others, through a Conviction that it is a right Measure.

Your Friend, the Consul *Metellus*, turns out a most excellent Magistrate; I think him however to blame, in one Respect, that he does not much seem to relish our pacific Accounts from *Gaul*. It is my Opinion, that he hankers after a Triumph; in this he is not perhaps so defensible, but, in every other Respect, he is great. As to the Son of *Aulus*, his Conduct, in his own Consulship, has been such,

(1) He was a *Greek* comic Poet.

(2) *Orig.* Οἱ μὲν καὶ ἔθελον εἶναι, οἱ δ' ἔθελον μίλαν. *Hi quidem prope nihil sunt, illis vero nihil curæ est.*

that it does not so properly deserve that Name, as that of a Speck (1) in our great Man's Eye. I have sent you, by *Lucius Cossinius*, the History of my Consulate in *Greek*; I suppose my *Latin* Performance will give you more Pleasure, because one *Greek* looks with an Eye of Jealousy upon another. If I meet with Performances from any other Authors upon the same Subject, I will send them to you, yet (though I don't know how it is,) yet when People have once read my Work, they are cooled from attempting it.

For, that I may return to my private Affairs, our worthy Friend *Lucius Papirius Pætus* has made me a present of the Books that had been left by *Servius Claudius*. When your Friend *Cincius* (2) acquainted me, that there was nothing, in this *Cincian* Law, that could hinder me from accepting them, I told him joyfully, that they should be welcome if they were brought. Now, if you love me, if you think that I love you, do all that you can by your Friends, by your Followers, by your Guests, by your Freedmen, nay employ your very Slaves, to prevent the loss of a single Scrap. For I have now very great Occasion for the *Greek* Books, which I suppose, and for the *Latin* ones, which I know, he left behind him. The Truth is, I daily take more and more Pleasure in the Amusement I find from those Studies, when I rest from my Labours in the *Forum*. You will out—you will, I say, out-do your usual Kindness (3), if you are as strenuous in this

(1) *Orig. ὀφθαλμίας. Macula*, the great Man here meant is *Pompey*.

(2) *Cicero* here plays upon the Word *Cincius*, because the Law, against *Senators*, extorting Presents from their Dependents was called the *Cincian* Law.

(3) *Orig. Per mihi, per, inquam, gratum faceris.*

Affair,

Affair, as you have been in those which you thought lay most at my Heart. I recommend, to your Care, the Affairs of *P. Cato* himself, who returns you a great many Thanks for what you have already done. That I may see you soon is not only my Wish, but my Advice.





C I C E R O's
E P I S T L E S
T O
A T T I C U S.

B O O K II.

E P I S T I.



Was met by your Slave on the 1st of *June*, on my Journey to *Antium*, as I was running, with great Earnestness, from the *Gladiatorian* Shows, exhibited by *Marcus Metellus*. From him I received your Letters, and your *Greek* History of my Consulship, a present which gave me the greater Pleasure, as I had, some Time before, put, into the Hands of *Cossinius*, for you, some *Greek* Memoirs of mine upon the same Subject; for, had I read yours beforehand, you would have sworn that I had pilfered from you. But give me leave, to say, for I read it with great Eagerness, that your Work is an awkward, slovenly, Thing. It was, however, adorned
by

by the Neglect of dres, as Ladies smell the sweeter for using no perfume. Now my Book was be-daubed with the very powdering Puff of *Isocrates*, I frizled it out with the curling Irons of his Followers, and I gave it even a Touch of *Aristotelian* red and white (1). Let me tell you that the Book, which you slightly glanced over at *Corfou* (2), as I understand by your other Letters, and of which you received a compleat Copy from *Coffinius*, is a present, I would not have ventured to have made you, had I not approved of it, after grave and mature Deliberation. Let me tell you likewise, that when I had sent it to *Posdonius* (3) at *Rhodes*, that it might invite him to treat the same Subject (4) with greater Elegance, and when he had read over my Memoirs, he wrote me they were so far from inviting, that they had absolutely deterred him from any Attempt of that Kind. In short, I have put all *Greece* in an Uproar. Thus, I am now no longer plagued with those who daily teased me for some Subject, which they could embellish by their Language. If you are pleased with the Performance, you will take Care to publish it at *Athens*, and the other *Greek* Towns, for it seems calculated to throw a Lustre upon my Conduct.

(1) Orig. *Meus autem liber totum Isocratis μωπο ἰνύκων (Pigmentorum arculam) atque omnis ejus discipulorum arculas, ac non nihil etiam Aristotelica pigmata consumpsit.* There is a great deal of Wit and Humour in this Passage, and I have been so lucky as to translate it pretty literally, notwithstanding the modern Air it carries in the Translation.

(2) This was the Capital of *Corcyra*, a small Island now belonging to the *Venetians*.

(3) This was a famous stoic Philosopher, under whom *Cicero* had studied.

(4) Orig. *ἐπιμνημα. Commentarium.*

I have

I have sent you the Trifles of Discourses which you called for, and I will send you more, since you are pleased even with those which I wrote at the Importunity of our young Gentlemen. If *Demosthenes*, that famous Countryman (1) of yours, became so illustrious by his *Philippic* Orations, in which he divested himself of all the Quirks and Jargon of the Bar, that he might appear in the Character (2) of a worthy Patriot and a wise Statesman; have I not, I say, an equal Title to Fame, by publishing my Orations, which I call Consular. The first of them was spoken in the Senate-house, on the 1st of *January*; the Second before the People; both on the Subject of the *Agrarian* Law; the Third was for *Otho*; the Fourth for *Rabirius*; the Fifth was concerning the Heirs of the proscribed; the Sixth was pronounced when I gave up my Province in the Assembly of the People; the Seventh drove *Catiline* from *Rome*; I spoke the Eighth before the People the Day after his Flight; the Ninth was delivered in the Assembly, on the Day when the *Allobroges* made their Discoveries; and the Tenth in the Senate, on the 5th of *December*; and these with two short ones, which serve as a kind of Appurtenances (3) to those upon the *Agrarian* Law, form the whole Collection (4), which I shall take Care you shall receive. Farther, as you are pleased with my Actions as well as my Writings, you shall, in those Books, have a full View of my Con-

(1) This is a Compliment to *Atticus*, who was violently in love with *Greece* and its Literature.

(2) συμβότης τις, καὶ πολιτικώτερος. *Vir ad dignitatem et ad tractandas res civiles magis accommodatus.*

(3) Orig. ἀποσπασμάτια. *Appendices.*

(4) Orig. σῶμα. *Corpus.*

duſt, as well as of my Eloquence, which, had you not called for it, I ſhould not have exhibited.

You aſk me the Reaſon why I ſo much preſs your Return to *Rome*, and, without reſuſing to come, you hint, that you have a great deal of Buſineſs upon your Hands, and that you would fly to ſee me, not only to do me Service, but to do me Pleaſure. The Truth is, I know of no abſolute Neceſſity; but it appeared to me, that you might have marked out the Times of your Abſence leſs unkindly. You have indeed been too long abſent, eſpecially as you are in the Neighbourhood, and as I neither enjoy you, nor have you my Company. Now I have, at leaſt, ſome little Reſpite; but if the Madneſs of that ſmock-faced Fellow (1) goes much farther, I will call upon you moſt furioſly. *Metellus*, however, checks him, and will check him to ſome Purpoſe. In ſhort he is a Patriot Conſul (2), and, as I always judged him to be, he is, by Nature, a worthy Man.

As to *Clodius*, he now ſollicites, without any Mask, for the Tribuſneſhip of the People. When this Matter came before the Senate, I confounded the Fellow, and reproached his Levity for ſtanding for the Tribuſneſhip at *Rome*, when, but the other Day, he declared, in *Sicily*, he would ſtand for the *Ædileſhip*. I ſaid that we had no real Reaſon to be alarmed, becauſe, that while he is a Plebeian, he will have no greater Room for diſtreſſing his Country, than the *Patricians*, (whoſe Conduct he copies,) had under my Conſulſhip. In the next Place, having underſtood that he had boaſted in an Aſſem-

(1) Meaning *Clodius*.

(2) Orig. φιλόπατρις. *Patriæ amans*.

bly of the People, of having come to *Rome* in seven Days, from the Streights of *Sicily*, and that he had entered the City by Night, to prevent the Crouds who were to come out to meet him; I said there was nothing strange in a Man's coming in seven Days from *Sicily* to *Rome*, when in three Hours he could come and go from *Rome* to *Interamna*; That it was not the first Time he had entered the City by Night, and that no body, by going out to meet him, had obstructed his Approach, when they ought to have done it most (1). In short, I bring you the Fellow's Impudence down to Modesty, not only by the constant Keenneſs but by this kind of Joking.

For Instance, I ſometimes enter with him upon Wit and Raillery with a familiar Air; as while we were attending a Candidate, he asked me, "whether I uſed to aſſign any Place for the *Sicilians* at the gladiatorian Shews." I told him by no Means. "But," replies he, I will; though they are come but lately under my Patronage. But," continues he, my Siſter, who has ſo much Room, as a Conſular's Wife, allows me only a few Inches." O! replied I, "I dare to ſay your Siſter wiſhes you to have as many Inches as you can deſire (2)." This, you ſay, was not ſpeaking in a very conſular Stile: 'tis true; but I hate that ſame Yoke-mate of our Conſul, for ſhe is a

(1) *Orig. Non eſſe itum obviam, ne tum quidem cum iri maxime debuit.* Meaning that upon his Return he ſhould have been forbidden to enter *Rome*.

(2) *Orig. Sed ſoror, quæ tantum habeat conſularis loci, unum mihi ſolum pedem dat. Noli, inquam, de uno pede ſororis queri: licet etiam alterum tollas.* This Paſſage alludes to the ſuppoſed Inceſt of *Clodius* with his Siſter, who was the Conſul *Metellus* his Wife, but it is not proper to explain the Meaning of the Paſſage itſelf.

Termagant in her Family, and she hates not only her Husband, but her Gallant (1), because they are my Friends in this Affair.

With regard to your Enquiries about the *Agrarian Law*, it seems, at present, to be quite cold. As to the gentle Wipes you give me concerning my Friendship with *Pompey*, I would not have you imagine that I look upon it to be any Security to me; but as Affairs were circumstanced, had there been any Difference, the Public must have necessarily been thrown into the greatest Confusion. Now, my Management and Caution to prevent this was such, that I did not deviate from my own virtuous Plan of Conduct; but I have brought him to be a better Patriot, and to be more stayed against the Giddiness of the People. For, be it known to you that he does not run out so much in Applause of his own Actions, as of my Conduct, against which so many People have endeavoured to prepossess him. He says that he has served, but I have preserved, the Public. I know of no Advantages that I can draw from this Declaration, but the Public can certainly draw many. What if I should make a better Patriot of *Cæsar*, whose Sails are now full-swelled with the Gale of popular Favour, shall I then disserve my Country?

Supposing, even, that I have not an Enemy, and that all Mankind should do me Justice, by giving me their Friendship; is the Application which heals the rotten Parts of the Republic less valuable than that which cuts them off? But now, at a Time when that Body of Cavalry, which, when you led their Way, and carried their Colours, I posted in the Avenue

(1) Meaning *Fabius*.

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of the Capitol, has abandoned the Senate ; at a Time when our great Men think themselves too great for Earth, if they can bring their Mullets in their Fish-ponds to feed out of their Hands ; at a Time when they mind no other Business, do you not think that I am usefully employed, by taking the Will, from those who have the Power, to hurt our Country ?

As to our Friend *Cato*, he is not more your Darling than he is mine ; but still, with the best Intentions and the strictest Honour, he sometimes hurts the Public ; for his Sentiments are more suited to the refined Systems of (1) *Plato*, than to the vile Off-Scourings of *Romulus*. Can there be a Proposition more just than that a Man should be brought to the Bar for receiving Money, while he sat upon the Bench. This was *Cato's* Opinion ; the Senate came into it ; the Knights declared War against the whole Order, but not against me, because I divided against the Question. What could be more impudent than the Petition of the Farmers of the Revenue ? It would have been, however, prudent to have suffered that Loss, rather than have forfeited the Friendship of the Order. *Cato* opposed them, and carried his Point. But what is the Consequence ? Now that the Consul is imprisoned, and now that all is in an Uproar. Not a Man of that Order has shewed the least Affection for the Constitution, which, under me, and the Consuls who succeeded me, they so bravely defended. You say what of all this ? Are we to bribe them to do their Duty ?—What have we to do else ? Are we to be insulted by our Freedmen, are we to be the Slaves of our Slaves ? But, as you say, these are fine Doings (2).

(1) *Orig. πιδυρία. Republica.* (2) *Orig. ὁμο σπῆδος. Satis studi.*

Favonius has dealt more honestly with my Tribe than with his own; but he has ruined that of *Lucceius*. He has brought a groundless Impeachment against *Nasica*, and spoke to it in so awkward a Manner, that one could have sworn he had a *Mule* rather than a *Molon*, of *Rhodes*, for his Master of Rhetoric (1). He was somewhat piqued with me for speaking in his Defence, and he is now attacking him again for the good of the Public. I will write to you concerning the Proceedings of *Lucceius*, after I have seen *Cæsar*, who will be here in two Days. You are to thank *Cato*, and his Ape *Servilius*, for your Losses from the *Sicyonians*. But, indeed, are not many worthy Men under the same Lash? Let us, however, bear with it; since it is passed, lest, in Time of any future Commotion, we be left by ourselves.

My *Amaltæa* expects, and requires, your Presence. I am wonderfully delighted with my *Tusculanum* and *Pompeianum*, though indeed I, who prevented a general Bankruptcy, am ready to become Bankrupt myself, through the Debts I have contracted to build them. I am in hopes that every Thing in *Gaul* is quiet. You may daily expect my Prognostics with my Trifles of Orations. In the mean while, let me know what Resolution you have come to concerning your Return hither. For I was told from *Pomponia*, that you was to be at *Rome* in the Month of *July*. This is somewhat different from what you

(1) There is a Jingle here in the Original, which I have imitated in the Translation. *Ita ut Rhodi videretur molis potius, quam Moloni operam dedisse.* *Molon* was a famous Teacher of Rhetoric at *Rhodes*.

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gave me to understand, by the Letters you wrote me since your Departure.

I wrote you before, that *Pætus* has made me a Present of all the Books that were left him by his Brother, and it rests upon your Friendship to make this Present turn out to my Account. As you love me, take Care that they are preserved, and safely conveyed to my Hands. You cannot do me a more agreeable Piece of Service than this, and in carefully preserving all those Books, the *Latin* as well as the *Greek*, I shall then look upon the Present as yours; I have delivered your Letters to *Offavius* (1), but had no Discourse with him; for I did not think they related to your Affairs in the Province; nor did I reckon you amongst the Number of Usurers, but I have written as I ought, honestly.

E P I S T. II.

BE careful, as you love me, of my *Cicero's* Recovery; I think I feel (2) his Illness already. I have just laid down the Treatise of *Dicæarchus* upon the *Pollenean* (3) Republic, and have now before me a whole Pile of his Works. What a great Author he is! And how much more may you learn from him than from *Procilius*. If I mistake not, I have at *Rome* his Treatises, concerning the *Corinthian* (4) and *Athenian* (5) Governments. Take

(1) He was Father to the Emperor *Augustus Caesar*, and was then Governor of *Macedonia*.

(2) *Orig. Σῆμα. Divini vel Patris.*

(3) *Orig. Πάλλαϊον. Pallæorum.*

(4) *Orig. Κορινθίαν. Corinthiorum.*

(5) *Orig. Ἀθηναίων. Atheniensium.*

my

my Word for it, read him, I recommend him, he is an admirable Writer. Were not *Herodes* (1) a Brute he would read him, before he wrote another Word. He attacked me by Letters, but I perceive that he attacks you in Person. I should have joined in *Catiline's* Conspiracy instead of destroying it, had I imagined that I was to be doomed to hear him. You are wrong in the Affair of *Lollius*, but right as to *Vinius*.

Now that I think of it, the first Day of the Month is at hand, but where is *Antony* (2)? Are the Judges summoned? For I am given to understand, that *Nigidius* (3) threatened in an Assembly, that he would compel any Judge who shall absent himself. I wish, however, that you would let me know all you can learn concerning the Journey of *Antony*; and because you will not come to this Place, be it at your Peril, if you fail to sup with me at *Rome*, the last of this Month. Take care of your own Health.

E P I S T. III.

GOOD News (4), I think, ought to stand in the Front of a Letter, and I thank you for yours. *Valerius* is acquitted upon the Defence made for him by *Hortensius*, and this, it is apprehended,

(1) Orig. Ἡρώδης. *Herodes*

(2) He was *Cicero's* Colleague in the Consulship, and though he commanded the Army that defeated *Catiline*, he was afterwards banished for being concerned in his Conspiracy, though he was defended by *Cicero*.

(3) He was Tribune all the following Year, and as such had a Power of compelling the Judges of *Antony* to attend.

(4) Orig. Εὐαγγελία. *Boni nuntii pramia*.

through the Interest of *Cæso Atilius*, and I suspect with you, that our very great Man (1) has been tampering in the same Manner. For I am neither pleased with his military Boots, nor with the white Fillets (2) about his Legs. You shall know the whole Matter when you come hither.

You must know, that in finding Fault with the Straitness of my Windows, you fall foul of the Institution of *Cyrus* (3). For when I found the very same Fault that you find, *Cyrus* told me, that Objects (4) did not appear so agreeable through wide Windows, and that supposing A to be the Eye that sees, B and C to be the Object that are seen, D and E the Rays of Light (5). You know the rest of this Jargon. For if we were to see by the Ministration of Images (6), they would bid fair (7) to stick in those narrow Passages, so that this Effusion (8) of Rays comes very happily in. If there is any thing else you dislike, out with it, provided it be not of such a Nature as not to be corrected but by Expençe.

I now come to *January*, the Month of Elections, in which I shall touch of my own Situation (9) and Body politic (10) in the *Socratic* Manner, by exhi-

(1) Meaning *Pompey*.

(2) The wearing these was a Mark of Eastern Sovereignty, so that *Cicero* says in fact, that *Pompey* is to be equally dreaded in War and Peace.

(3) Orig. Κῦρος παιδείαν. *Cyri institutionem*. This is no bad Pun.

(4) Orig. διαφάσεις. *Transparencies*.

(5) Orig. ἴσω ὥς μιν, ἢ αὐτὸ δι' ὁρώμενον, β, γ, ἀκτῖνες δὲ, δ, ε. *Sit oculus A. quod autem videtur B. C. radii vero D E.*

(6) Orig. κατ' εἰδώλων ἐμπλώσεις. *Per simulacrorum illapsus*.

(7) Orig. εἰδώλα. *Simulacra*.

(8) Orig. ἔκχυσις. *Effusio*.

(9) Orig. ἐπέστασιν. *Statum*.

(10) Orig. πολιτίαν. *Republicam*.

biting

biting a View on both Sides (1); but, like him, I shall close the whole with my own Opinion (2). It is indeed a Thing of great Weight. For I must either oppose the *Agrarian* Law, by an ineffectual, tho' glorious Resistance, or I must agree to it, which is not unlike retiring to *Solonium* or *Antium* (3); or I must assist in it, which I am told; *Cæsar* makes himself sure I will do. *Cornelius* has been at my House, I mean *Balbus* (4), *Cæsar's* Intimate. He assured me that *Cæsar* would, in all his Conduct, be directed by *Pompey* and me, and that he would endeavour to reconcile *Crassus* to *Pompey*. From all this it follows, that my Coalition with *Pompey* remains firm, that I may, if I please, have the Friendship of *Cæsar*, that I may enter into Favour with my Enemies, into Peace with the People, and secure a Tranquillity to my old Age. At the same Time I am touched with a Passage (5) in the third Book of the Poem (6), which you know of, as follows,

*Mean while the Course of Honour and of Truth,
Which you, when Consul held, pursue, and thus
Encrease your Fame, and virtuous Applause.*

As *Calliope* herself dictated those Sentiments for

(1) Orig. *σωκρατικῶς* ἰς ἑκάτερον. *More Socraticorum in utramque partem.*

(2) Orig. *τῇ ἀξίονησιν.* *Placentem Sententiam.*

(3) These were two pleasant Country Seats in *Italy*.

(4) This Person made a great Figure at *Rome* under *Cæsar*, though he was a *Spaniard* by Birth.

(5) Orig. *κατάραξις.* *Contentio.*

(6) This is a Stroke of that excessive Vanity which distinguishes *Cicero's* Character; for this Poem was probably written by himself, and in his own Praise.

me, in a Book filled with Maxims of aristocratic Government (1), I can have no Doubt that

*Without a Sign, his Sword the brave Man draws,
And asks no Omen but his Country's Cause*(2).

But we will reserve these Matters for our *compitalitiam* (3) Walks. Do not forget, the Day before the *Compitaliaes*, I will order the Bath to be made warm, and *Terentia* invites *Pomponia*. We shall likewise have your Mother's Company. Pray bring along with you, out of my Brother's Library, the Treatise of *Theophrastus* upon the Pursuit of public Honours (4).

EPIST. IV.

YOU have done me a great Favour in sending me *Serapion's* (5) Book, of which, betwixt you and me, I scarce understand the thousandth Part. I have given Orders that you shall be paid for it in ready Money, to prevent your putting it to the Account of your Presents. But now that I mention Money, I beg you will take Care at any Rate to make up that Affair with *Titinius*. If he will not stand to what he has offered, I am extremely well pleased that the bad Purchase should be returned, if it be agreeable to *Pomponia*; if that will not do, let him have Money to take from him

(1) Orig. ἀριστοκρατικῶς. *Accommodate ad statum optimatum.*

(2) Orig. Εἰς οὐρανὸς ἀγίως ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πατρίδος. *Unum augurium optimum pugnare pro patria.* This is a fine Sentiment taken from *Homer*, who puts it into the Mouth of *Hector*, in the 12th Book of the *Iliad*.

(3) The *Compitalitia* was an unfixed Feast in *Rome*, generally held in *December* or the Beginning of *January*.

(4) Orig. Θεοφράστῳ περὶ φιλοτιμίας. *Theophrasti de honorum studio.* This Treatise is now lost.

(5) This Geographer is mentioned by *Pliny*.

all kind of Handle. I was very desirous before you went away, that you would have made a friendly End of this as you do of other Affairs (1).

Well then, you say that *Clodius* is to go Ambassador to *Tigranes*. I wish I knew upon what Terms (2); but I bear it with Indifference. That will be a much more proper Time for our free Legation (3), when my Brother *Quintus* shall be, as I hope he will be, set down at his own Ease (4), and when it shall be known how the new Priest of the deified *Bona* will prove. In the mean while, I, with the Muses, am ever amusing myself in the literary Way with a quiet, nay, a joyful and an eager, Mind. Never comes it into my Thoughts to envy *Craſſus*, or to repent my having acted up to my Character. As to the Geography, I will take Care to give you Contentment, but I promise nothing certain. It is a great Undertaking; I will, however, agreeable to your Desire, endeavour to give you some Specimen of my Labours that Way from my Journey. Let me know all you can learn of public Affairs, and especially who you think are to

(1) There are many dark Readings in the preceding Passages here; I have translated them in the Manner I thought most agreeable to Probability and common Sense.

(2) The Reading here is likewise very dark. The Embassy here spoken of was probably the Result of the newly cemented Friendship between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, who could not otherwise compass his favourite Point, of having his Actions in the East confirmed.

(3) A free Legation, or *Legatio libera*, was no other than a Form of a Leave of Absence granted by the Senate to one of their Body, under Pretext of a public Employment abroad.

(4) *Cicero's* Brother *Quintus* had been for some Time Governor of *Asia*, and *Cicero* was at this Time soliciting the Senate for Leave for him to return to *Rome*.

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be our Consuls; yet am I no ways curious (1). I am determined to think no more of Politics.

I have seen the Wood belonging to my Wife, but I should think myself Master of all *Epirus*, did I but possess *Dodona's* Grove. About the 1st of next Month, I will be either at *Formianum* or *Pompeianum*; if I should not be at the former, I beg, as you love me, that you will come to *Pompeianum*; it will give me great Pleasure, and it is nothing out of your Road. I have given Orders to *Philotimus*, that the Wall shall not obstruct you, and you may do with it as you propose. I think, however, that you should consult *Vettius*. At such a Juncture as this, when the Life of every worthy Man is so insecure, I think, it a mighty Matter to enjoy one Summer's Pleasure of my *Palatine* Exercises. But still I would not have my Sister and her Boy under the Apprehensions of being buried alive (2).

(1) No dramatic Writer ever drew human Nature in so ridiculous & Light as *Cicero's* Character appears from his Epistles. While he is upon the Rack of Ambition, Jealousy, and Vain-glory, he is perpetually preaching up Lessons of Philosophy, Disinterestedness, Retirement, and Patriotism; and yet, like a Lover who breaks with his Mistress, whilst *Cicero* quarrels with the World, and is every Minute threatening to leave it; he makes it plain by every Word and Action that drops from him, that he is afraid lest the World should take him at his Word, and every succeeding Expression contradicts the former. One can't help feeling for this Weakness of so great a Man, and it must give a Reader of Understanding Pain, that *Cicero's* Confidence in his Friend has published to all the World (I wish I could not call it) the Badness of his Heart in this Respect.

(2) This relates to some Inconveniencies that had happened through a Partition-Wall that divided the Houses of *Cicero* and his Brother upon Mount *Palatine*.

EPIST.

E P I S T. V.

I NOW have, and I long have had, a Passion to see *Alexandria* and the rest of *Egypt*, both that I may get rid of this Surfeit of Mankind, and that I may return to the World with an Appetite. But at such a Juncture, and from such a Pass as I must have to travel, I say with *Hector*, I fear the *Trojans* Men and Women, with their sweeping Trains (1). For what will be the Discourse of our Noblemen, if we have any Noblemen still remaining? Can they say that I have been bribed from doing my Duty? *Polydamus* would then be the first to reproach me (2), by him, I mean our Friend *Cato*, whose Testimony is equal to that of a Million. But what will be said of me 600 Years hence by Historians? I fear their Testimony more than I do the idle Gossiping of my Cotemporaries. But I am of Opinion that we must bear all, and wait with Patience. If they offer me that Employment, I shall be at some Liberty to take or to refuse it; for there is no small Glory even in refusing. Therefore, if *Theophanes* (3) should talk with you on that Subject, don't put him quite out of all Hopes.

I expect to hear from you of what is doing at *Rome*, what *Arrius* is saying, and how he bears with being left alone; whether, as the Report goes, *Pompey* and *Crassus*, or as my Letters intimate, *Servius*, *Sulpicius*, and *Gabinius*, are to be Consuls; what

(1) Orig. Αἰδέομαι Τρῶας, καὶ Τρῳάδας ἰλασιονώτους. *Vereor Trojanos & Trojanas populos trahentes*

(2) Orig. Πωλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἰλαγχίην ἀναθήσει. *Polydamas mihi primus probum objiciet.*

(3) Orig. Θεοφάνης. *Theophanes.*

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new Laws are passing ; in short, whether there are any News at all, and, as *Nepos* is going abroad, who is to have the Augurship. This is the only Bait with which the Men in Power can hope to catch me. You see my Weakness. But what have I to do with Ambition? I, who wish to retire, and to apply my whole Mind, my whole Study, to Philosophy⁽¹⁾. This is my present Turn of Thinking, I wish I had never thought otherwise. But now, as I find by Experience, how trifling those Pursuits are, which I once imagined to be so glorious, I think now of no Connections but with the nine Muses.

Write me, however, with some Certainty, concerning *Curtius*, and whether any one is thought of to fill his Place, and what is to become of *Publius Clodius* ; and write me at leisure⁽²⁾ all that you have promised. I beg you'll let me know the precise Day on which you think to leave *Rome*, that I may make you certain as to the Place where I shall then reside, and immediately sit down to write me a Letter concerning those Matters I have mentioned in mine, for I am very impatient to hear from you.

EPIST. VI.

AS to the Account of my Journey which I promised you in my former Letters, I can give you no great Encouragement to expect it. I am now so attached to Indolence, that I cannot be

(1) *Orig.* φιλοσοφίῳ. *Philosophari.*

(2) *Orig.* ἐν σχολῇ. *In otio.*

torn from it. I therefore amuse myself with my Books, of which I have good Plenty at *Antium*, or I count the Billows, for the Season is no way favourable for Angling, and I have a mortal Antipathy to Writing. For the Geographical Work (1), which I intended to write, is a great Work, and *Eratosthenes*, whom I proposed for my Pattern, is blamed by *Serapion* and *Hipparchus*. What would you think of consulting *Tyrannio*? The Subject, take my Word for it, is difficult, it has a Sameness (2) in it, and is not so capable of Embellishments (3) as I thought it; and what is more than all, I want but the Shadow of an Excuse for being idle.

The chief Employment of my Time, at present, is to debate with myself, whether I shall reside at this Place or at *Antium*, where I had rather be a Duumvir (4), than a Consul at *Rome*. But you have acted more prudently, by purchasing a House at *Butbrotum*. But, take my Word for it, this same *Antium* is next a-kin to that Town. Would you believe it, that there is a Place so near *Rome*, where there are many People who have never seen *Vatinius* (5), and where there is not a Man, beside myself, who does not wish all the twenty Commissioners (6) hanged, where no Body contradicts, and every Body loves me. Here is a de-

(1) Orig. γεωγραφικὰ. *Commentationes Geographicae.*

(2) Orig. ὁμοιότης. *Sibi similes.*

(3) Orig. ἀνθοποιήσας. *Floride scribi.*

(4) The Duumvirs, in the Country Towns of *Italy*, answer pretty much to the Consuls at *Rome*.

(5) This Tribune was one of *Cicero's* leading Enemies.

(6) These Commissioners were nominated by *Cæsar*, for executing the *Agrarian* Law, which, the Year before, had been carried in by *Flavius*.

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licitious Place for the Study of Politics (1), for at Rome I have no Leisure, nay, I have no Inclinations to do it, I therefore entrust you only with my Anecdotes (2), which are in the *Theopompian* (3) Manner, but much more severe; nor have I any Thing more of a Patriot (4) besides my hatred of the Profligate, and even that does not break my Rest, though it gives me Pleasure to write against them.

But now for Business, I have written to the City Questors about the Affair of my Brother *Quintus*. Pray let me know their Answer, whether we have any Hopes of being paid in current Coin, or whether we shall be locked up in *Pompey's* Coffers (5). You will likewise come to some Resolution about the Wall. There is another Thing I had almost forgot; pray, let me know when you think of Setting out from the Place where you are?

EPIST. VII.

I Shall bestow some Thoughts concerning this same Geography. In the mean while you call upon me for two Orations, one of which I tore in Pieces, and therefore I could not write it out. In the other, I praised the Man whom I did not

(1) Orig. *πολιτικόν*. *Trastanda Respublica*.

(2) Orig. *αἰνέδορα*. *Non edenda*.

(3) This Author was a Disciple of *Isocrates*, and wrote a sarcastical History of his own Times.

(4) Orig. *πολιτεύομαι*. *De republica curo*.

(5) Orig. *Κισσοβόρο Πομπειανό*. There is a pretty Allusion here. There was, in *Asia*, a very small Kind of Coin, which bore the Impression of a mystical Coffer or *Cista*, and was therefore called by the Romans *Cissophori*. When *Pompey*, after his Conquests in the East, brought its immense Riches to Rome, he left this Species of Money to the *Asiatics*; and his Questors, who were Pay-masters to the Roman Governors, insisted upon *Cicero's* Brother receiving his Salary in that Coin.

love

love (1). I will however think of them likewise. In short, you shall have some Composition of mine to show you, that I am not irrecoverably Indolent. I am wonderfully pleased with what you write me concerning *Publius*, and I beg you will bring me the Particulars of the whole, after you have traced it to the Fountain-head. In the mean Time, write all that you either know certainly or probably, especially what is to be done in the Affair of the Embassy. It is true, before I read your Letters, I wished him gone, not, take my Word for it, from any Fear of joining Issue with him (2), for I have a wonderful Propensity towards Litigation; but I was in hopes he might lose thereby all the Popularity, if he acquired any, from his becoming a Plebeian. I could have told him, "So, you have made yourself a Commoner, that you may go to compliment a King. When was it ever known, that the Kings of *Armenia* were complimented, by any, under the Rank of a *Patrician*." In short, I was in high Humour for working him about this Embassy. If he should refuse it, and, as you write, if he should thereby disoblige those who were the most active in soliciting and patronising the Law for his Adoption, we shall then have fine Diversion.

Upon my Word, to say the Truth, our Friend *Publius* (3) is very scurvily treated. In the first Place, he, who was once the only Man in *Cæsar's* House, cannot be admitted into it now amongst twenty others. In the next Place, he was named to one

(1) Meaning perhaps *Pompey*.

(2) *Orig. Ut differrem cum eo vadimonium.* This is a Law-Allusion and relates to *Clodius*.

(3) Meaning *Clodius*.

Embassy,

Embassy, and appointed to another. I suppose that the lucrative one, for calling in the Money, is reserved to *Drusus* of *Pisaurum* (1), or to the Glutton *Vatinius*; while *Clodius* is appointed to this lean insignificant Commission, which is no better than an honourable Exile to a Man like *Clodius*, whose future Tribuneship is so necessary for the Purposes of his Party. If you love me, exasperate him as much as possible. My whole Hopes, for the Public, are centered in those People splitting with one another, and I had some Hints from *Curio*, that Matters were beginning to point that Way. Here we have *Arrius* roaring at his missing the Consulship. *Pompey* (2), and our bloody-minded Fellows, are at open Variance together. If the Breach should be widened, by a Dispute about this same Augurship, I hope I shall have frequent Occasions of sending you excellent Letters on that Subject. But I wish I knew what you mean by your obscure Hint, as if some of the *Junto* of Five (3), were beginning to speak out: Pray, how is that? For if there is any Thing in it, it is a more favourable Circumstance than I expected.

But now I would not have you to think that I want to be informed by you, from any Passion I have to be meddling (4) again, or that I have still a Hankering to be concerned in public Affairs. I have even, for a long Time, lost the Relish for

(1) This Person was Prætor in the Year of *Rome* 703, and both he, and *Vatinius*, were very lewd Persons.

(2) *Orig. Megabocchus*. This was another Nickname of *Pompey*.

(3) This relates to private History, which is not now recoverable.

(4) *Orig. non id sperandum. Ut agendi ratio consist.*

Power, even when I might have enjoyed it. But now that I am forced to leave the Ship, after having, not thrown up, but, resigned the Rudder, I am desirous of beholding, from dry Land, the Shipwreck of my Successors. For, as your Friend Sophocles says,

*Sweet is the Couch when Winter's Storms invade
And rattling Rains the downy Slumbers aid (1).*

You'll take Care to give Directions about the Wall. I will rectify that Mistake concerning *Castricianus* (2), yet my Brother mentioned one Sum to me, though he mentioned another to your Sister. My Wife offers her Compliments to you, and my Son desires you to answer for him to *Aristodemus*, in the same Manner as you did for his Brother, your Nephew. I will take Care of what you write concerning *Amalthea*. Take Care of your Health.

EPIST. VIII.

WHEN, in my usual Manner, I waited towards the Evening for a Letter from you, then comes a Message, that my Slaves were arrived from *Rome*; I call for them, I enquire after Letters, they tell me they have none. What nothing from *Pomponius*? The Fellows were frightened at the Manner in which I spoke, and looked, and con-

(1) Orig. *καὶ ἐν τῇ σῆν. Πικρὰς αἰνῶν ψυχὰς ἐνδύον φρονί. Et
antique sub tellus confertim labentem audire pluviam quieto animo.*

(2) He was Agent for the Asiatic Provinces. The Text here is mutilated.

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ferred they had received Letters, but had lost them on the Road. You need not doubt that I stormed exceedingly ; because, for some Time past, no Letters have come from you that were void of some useful, or entertaining, Matter. Now, if, in yours of the 15th of *April*, there was any Business of Moment, let me be informed of it as soon as possible, and, even if it contained only Wit and Humour, pray let me have it again. You must know that young *Curio* has been to pay me his Compliments. His Information, concerning *Clo-dius*, is very much in the same Strain with your Letters : As to himself, he professed an irreconcilable Hatred towards haughty Tyrants. He assured me that our young People of Quality were equally incensed against them, and resolved to endure them no longer. It is well with us, if we can trust to them ; for my Part, I will set about somewhat else. I apply to writing History ; and yet, though you take me for a meer Bookworm (1), I am the most indolent Fellow alive.

Now am I to give you an Account of my Stages, that you may be at a Certainty where to find us. About the 21st of *April*, I think of being at *Formiæ*, as you suppose me not to pay a Visit, at such a Time as this is, to the delightful Baſon (2). About the 1st of *May*, I leave *Formiæ* to go to *Antium* by the 3d, for there are to be public Diversions there from the 4th to the 7th, which I want my Wife to take Part in. From thence I think of

(1) *Orig. Sausfius*. This Person was a great Reader.

(2) Meaning the *Bajæ*, a Town near the Promontory of *Misenum*.

going to *Tusculanum*, from thence to *Arpinum*, and about the 1st of *June*, to return to *Rome*. Do you therefore order it so as to see me either at *Formiæ*, or *Antium*, or *Tusculanum*. Give me another Copy of your last Letter, with some Additions.

E P I S T. IX.

I Shall be glad to hear that my Friend is in Health. When the Quæstor *Cæcilius* informed me, that he was to send a Slave to *Rome*, I sat down in haste to write this Letter, that I might get out of your Hands, those marvellous Conversations that passed between *Clodius* and you, I mean those you mention as well as those you omit; because, as you write, they would take up too much Time. But, above all, I would have you to know, that nothing can give me a higher Entertainment than an Account of that Conversation, which has not yet passed, but of this Oxe-ey'd (1) Dame will inform you of upon her Return from *Solonium*. Now, if the Stripulations concerning me, have not been observed, I am quite happy, that this *Herod* (2), this Broker with the Commons, may know what Thanks he ought to return to the fulsome Encomiums I poured out upon him before the People, and of which you may expect a precious Recantation (3).

For, so far as I can conjecture, if that Fellow shall continue in Favour with our Tax-masters, he may well boast that he has rendered insignificant,

(1) Βοῶπις. *Bubulis oculis*.

(2) Orig. *Hierosolymarius*. Meaning *Pompey*, who had conquered *Judea*.

(3) Orig. *παλινοδία*. *Recantationem*.

not only his cynical Consular (1), but those Fish-pond-Fanciers. For I can give him no Manner of Umbrage, after I am stript of my Interest, and of my Power with the Senate. But if he should break with them, it will be ridiculous for him to persecute me ; let him do it, however, if he pleases.

Take my Word for it, our great Men have whirled round their Hoop of the Public (2) with greater Dexterity, and less Noise, than I looked for. That it did not receive the Check that might have been given it, was owing to *Cato* in the first Place, and in the next, to the Villany of those who have violated the *Ælian* (3), the *Julian-Licinian*, and the *Cæcilian-Didian* Laws ; who have wasted all the Means of public Safety ; who have invested Tetrarchs (4) with the Titles and Possessions of Kings ; and have enriched a few with the Spoils of their Country. I can now foresee to what Quarter the public Hatred will move, and where it will fix. I will give you leave to say, that I have profited nothing from the Knowledge either of Men or Books, if you see not the People again wish for the Times of my Consulate. For if the Powers, assumed by

(1) Meaning *Cicero*.

(2) *Orig. Festive, mihi crede, et minore sonitu, quam putatum, arbis hic in Rep. est conversus.* This alludes to a Diversion which School Boys have in *England*, that of driving, before them, a Hoop, to which were fixed Bells, or pieces of Metal, that made a jingling Noise.

(3) We have already mentioned the *Ælian* Law. The other two Laws mentioned here, provided, under severe Penalties, that every Bill moved for to the People, should be exposed for a certain Time, about twenty-seven Days, and prescribed other Formalities before a Bill could pass into a Law, all which *Cæsar* had broken through.

(4) This alludes to *Pompey*, who had made the *Tetrarch Deiotarus* a King.

a whole Senate, galled the Public, how think you will it bear the same Powers when they are engrossed, not by the People, but by three Men of boundless Ambition (1).

Well, let them proceed in their own Way ; let them make what Consuls; and Tribunes of the People, they please ; let them even enrobe the Paunch of *Vatinius*, with the augural Vestments (2) ; yet, a short Time will make great Men not only of those who have given Cause of Offence, but of *Cato* himself, the most obnoxious Man in the Opposition. For my own Part, if that Messmate (3) of yours, *Clodius*, would give me leave, I am thinking of turning Philosopher (4) in good earnest. Should he attack me, I shall only, like a true Philosopher, defend myself; and denounce War against that Man who shall molest me (5). My Country must forgive me ; if I have not done for her more than I ought, yet I have done for her more than I was required, to do. I would rather be a Passenger, with a bad Pilot at the Helm, than be myself a good Pilot for such worthless Passengers.

Now as to what you want to know. I think of removing, about the 3d of May, from *Formiæ* to *Antium*, from thence I shall go, about the 7th, to *Tusculanum*. But when I return from *Formiæ*, where I propose to stay till the last of April, I will in-

(1) Viz. *Cæsar*, *Pompey*, and *Crassus*.

(2) Orig. διβάψ. Bis tineta purpurâ.

(3) Orig. Sodalem.

(4) Orig. σοφιστήν. Philosophari.

(5) Orig. ἰσαγγέλλωμαι, ἅδ' ἀπαμύνασθαι, ὅτι τις πρότερος χολώσῃ. Denuntio cum virum me ulturum quicunque prior mihi molestus fueris.

form you farther. My Wife sends you her Compliments, as my little *Cicero* does his to *Titus* of *Athens* (1).

EPIST. X.

WHAT do our great Men deny that *Clodius* is made a Commoner? This is indeed tyrannical and intolerable. Let *Clodius* send me a Person to take my Deposition (2). I will swear that our Friend *Pompey*, this Colleague of *Balbus*, told me, at *Antium*, that he assisted in the Augury.

What a Couple of agreeable Letters did I get from you at one Time! I know not how pay to you for your good News (3). I must therefore acknowledge myself to be in your Debt. Let me inform you, however, of an Adventure (4). After I had safely arrived from *Antium*, at the three Taverns upon the *Appian-Way*, on the 19th of *April*, I met with my Friend *Curio*, who was coming from *Rome*, and likewise, with his Slave who brought me your Packet. *Curio* asked me about News; I told him I had none. *Publius*, said he, stands for the Tribuneship of the Commons. What do you say to that? Nay farther, he is the bitter Enemy of *Cæsar*, and wants to be chosen, that he may repeal

(1) Orig. Κικίρων ὁ μικρὸς ἀσπαίζωνας Τίτον Ἀθηναῖον. *Cicero parvulus salutat Titum Atheniensem.*

(2) There is something here very inconsistent with *Cicero's* Conduct, unless he speaks ironically, which I strongly suspect. *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were somewhat afraid of *Clodius*, and began to dispute his Adoption, and *Pompey*, it seems, even denied, that the Augural Ceremonies for it had been observed.

(3) Orig. ἐπαγγελία. *Boni nuntii Præmia.*

(4) Orig. συγγραμμα. *Casum.*

all that has been done in *Cæsar's* Consulship. How, replied I, does *Cæsar* take this? He denies, answers *Curio*, that he ever intermeddled in his Adoption. *Curio* then gave me a full Account how much he, *Memmius*, and *Metellus Nepos*, were at Variance with *Cæsar*. I then embraced and parted with my *Curio*, that I might return to your Letters.

Who can prefer speaking to writing (1)? How much more did I learn from your Letters, than from his Conversation concerning the Reports of the Day! the Schemes of *Clodius*, the Arts of his Ox-eyed Sister (2), and of *Athenio* (3) the Standard-Bearer of Sedition; the Letters sent to *Pompey*, and the Conversation between *Theophanes* and *Memmius*. In short, how have you raised my Expectation concerning that disorderly (4) Entertainment! my Curiosity is on the Stretch (5) about it. I dispense however, with your writing me any Account of it, because I chuse rather to have it from your own Mouth.

You desire me not to be idle with my Pen. Materials indeed grow upon my Hands, but our whole System is as yet in a Ferment; the Dregs are still uppermost (7). When these shall subside, I shall know better how to form a Judgment of what I am to handle. If I do not instantly send you what I

(1) Orig. ζώσης φωνῆς. *Vivæ vocis supp. Major efficacia.*

(2) Orig. βούβινδος. *Bubulis oculis præditæ junonis.*

(3) Cicero here calls *Vatinius* by the Name of *Athenion*, who had raised the Slave War in Sicily.

(4) Orig. ἀσελγῆς. *Lascivi.*

(5) Orig. ὀξύπνεος. *Famelicus.*

(6) Orig. συμπόσιον. *Convivium.*

(7) Orig. κατ' ὀπώραν τεύξ. *Per autumnum fœx. supp. nondum desedit.*

write, yet you shall be the first, and, for some Time, the only Person, to whom I shall communicate my Thoughts. You are in the right to love *Dicæarchus*, he is a worthy, honest Man, and, by far, a better Patriot than those Tyrants (1) of ours are. I have wrote this Letter, at Four in the Afternoon, on the 19th of *April*, as soon as I had read yours. But I think of giving them, next Day, to the first Person I can find going your Way. My Wife is delighted with your Letters, and desires that you may know she wishes you sincerely well; and *Cicero* the Philosopher sends his Compliments to *Titus* the Politician (2).

EPIST. XI.

DO you not admire my Gravity? I refused to be a Spectator of the public Shows at *Antium*. For I thought it an Absurdity (3) in Terms, for me, who want to shun even the Appearance of Pleasure, to become, of a sudden, the very Mirrour (4) of pleasurable, trifling, Travelling. I will therefore expect you, till the 7th of *May*, at *Formiæ*. Now let me know on what Day I am to see you. Dated at Ten in the Morning, from the *Appian-Market*. I sent off another, some Time before, from the three Taverns.

(1) *Orig.* ἀδικαταρχοί. *Injusti magistratus.*

(2) *Orig.* Καὶ Κικέρων ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸν πολιτικὸν Τίτον ἀσπάζεταιται.
Et Cicero Philosophus salutat Titum Rempublicam tractantem.

(3) *Orig.* ὑποσώδιον. *Subabsurdum.*

(4) *Orig.* ἀναφαινέσθαι. *Apparere.*

EPIST. XII.

I Can't help observing to you, that while I am at *Formia*, I think myself out of the World. While I was at *Antium*, there did not a Day pass, in which I was not better informed of what was doing at *Rome*, than they, who were on the Spot. For I learned from your Letters, not only what was doing at *Rome*, but what was passing all over the Empire ; I learned not only present Incidents, but future Events. But here I have not a Scrap of Information, but what I can pick up from some accidental Traveller. Therefore, tho' I now expect you in Person, yet I desire that you will charge this Slave, whom I have ordered immediately to return to me, with a ponderous Epistle filled not only with what you do, but what you conjecture.

Let me know the precise Day when you leave *Rome*. I intend to remain at *Formia*, till the 6th of *May*. If you cannot come hither before that Time, perhaps I shall see you at *Rome*. For why should I invite you to *Arpinum*, which, as *Homer* makes *Ulysses* say, " is the rough Mother of a generous Breed, and all that my Soul can want or wish (1)." This, with my Compliments, is all.

(1) Orig. Τρηχὺν ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ καροτρός. ἔτι ἔγωγε Ἦς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκυτέρου ἄλλοῦ ἰδεῖσθαι. *Aspera, sed bonæ puerorum nutritrix ; neque hac terra quicquam dulcius possum aspicere.*

EPIST. XIII.

HOW unfortunate is it, that nobody has delivered you that Letter which I wrote you from the three Taverns immediately (1) upon the Receipt of your most agreeable Letters. You must know the Reason was, that the Packet, into which I put it, was, that very Day on which I delivered it, carried to my House in *Rome*, and brought back to me at *Formiæ*. I have therefore ordered your Letter to be carried back to you, to inform you how agreeable yours to me was. You write me that all is quiet at *Rome*; I thought as much. But, take my Word for it, it is not so in the Country. For even our Boors are impatient under the Tyranny of your great Men. If therefore you come into this Land (2) of Cannibals (3), I mean *Formiæ*, what a Clutter, what Invectives will you hear! what a Hatred do they bear to the great Man! His Title of Great is, I think, become less fashionable in his Name, as is the Epithet of Rich in that of *Crassus*. Will you believe me? I have hitherto met with no Person who bears all those Matters so coolly as I do. I assure you, therefore, that I am now quite the Philosopher (4); and I could be sworn that nothing is of such a Value as to discompose me. When you have received any Letters from the *Sicyonians*, post to me at *Formiæ*, from whence I think of setting out on the 16th of May.

(1) *Orig.* αὐθαρεῖ. *Ipsa hora.*(2) *Orig.* τηλείουλον. *Magnam urbem.*(3) *Orig.* Λαιστρυγόνιον. *Læstrygoniam.*(4) *Orig.* φιλοσοφώμεν. *Philosophemur.*

E P I S T. XIV.

HOW my Curiosity is raised to know of the Discourse of *Bibulus*, and your Conference with the Ox-eyed Dame (1)! How I long likewise to hear concerning that same pleasurable Entertainment! Come to me then instantly, that my thirsty Ears may drink in your Information. I think, however, I have, at present, nothing more to dread than, lest, when *Pompey* shall feel himself lashed on all Hands, when he shall see that he has been, all this Time, busied in erecting a Bubble of a Building (2), he shall throw all into Confusion. For my Part, I am so worn out, that, give me but the Ease in which my Days are now melting away, I am contented to be a happy Slave (3), rather than enter the Lists for Liberty, though flushed with Hopes of Success.

You are constantly advising me to publish, but that cannot be done. My House, through the Resort of the Townsmen here, looks more like a Booth than a Country Retirement. How much do the Visits of the *Æmilian* Tribe (4) resemble the Doings at a Fair! But how unequal is the Resort to any Booth to that of the *Æmilian* Tribe! I don't talk of the Vulgar, nor am I plagued with the others after Ten o'Clock. You must know, that *Caius Arrius* is my next Neighbour; nay, we live, in a Manner, under the same Roof; and he tells me

(1) Orig. *Ἰουνοῖδος*. *Junonis*.

(2) Orig. *ἱλασπιπτεῖς*. *Facile evertendas*.

(3) Orig. *ὑποταμιῶθαι*. *Sub tyranno esse*.

(4) Meaning the People of *Formia*, who were engrafted upon the *Æmilian* Tribe.

forsooth, that he denies himself the Pleasure of going to *Rome*, that he may have the Pleasure of talking Philosophy all Day with me. On the other Hand of me, I have *Sebosus*, the same who was the good Friend of *Catulus*. Heavens help me! I would go directly to *Arpinum*, were it not more convenient for me to wait for you at *Formia*, at least till the 6th of *May*. Pray consider what Kind of Men they are who have got Possession of my Ears; what a fine Bargain might any one have of my Estate here, while I am persecuted with such Company. And yet I must try to write,—a likely Story! when that which I am to write requires great Thought and great Leisure. I shall however endeavour to satisfy you, and will spare no Pains for that Purpose.

EPIST. XV.

I Perceive that public Affairs are as unsettled as you represent them to be in your Letter; and yet I am diverted with all the Variety of Discourses and Opinions. For when I read your Letters I think I am at *Rome*; and, as it happens in such important Conjectures, I hear sometimes one Thing, and sometimes another. I cannot however be resolved how a Way can possibly be found out to pass the *Agrarian* Law, to the Satisfaction of every Body. As to the noble Spirit of *Bibulus*, in putting off the Election, what is there in it, farther than its discovering his Sentiments, without serving his Country? Well, then, our Hopes are in *Clodius*: With all my Heart; let him be made a Tribune
of

of the People, were it for nothing else than to bring you the sooner from *Epirus*. For I can by no Means see how you can be without him, especially if he intends to prosecute any Animosity against me. But to be serious, I make no Manner of Doubt but that you would fly hither, should any Thing of that Kind happen. Supposing, however, that not to be the Case, yet whether he sinks or saves his Country, I promise to myself the Entertainment of a charming Scene, provided you sit by me while I enjoy it—— So just as I am writing away, in comes *Sebosus*—— I had not Time to bless myself, when “ your Servant, Sir,” says *Arrius*. Now don’t you think that this is a fine Retirement from *Rome*? Who must they be, whom I have left, when my Refuge is in such Animals as these? For my Part, “ I’ll hie me to my native Hills, and where my Cradle rock’d,” to speak in the poetical Stile. I vow if I cannot live by myself, I’ll rather herd with Boors, than with these very polite Gentlemen; but still as you write me nothing with Certainty, concerning your Journey, I will wait for you at *Formia* ’till the 3d of May.

My Wife takes it very kindly that you have been so assiduous and active in her Affair with *Mulvius*. Little does she know that you defend the common Cause of all who possess public Lands. You, however, are to pay somewhat of Rent, which she refuses to do. She joins in her Compliments to you, with *Cicero*, my infant Patriot (1).

(1) *Orig.* Καίτοι, ἀξιολογαστιμώτατος παῖς. *Cicero puer optimatum studiosissimus.*

EPIST. XVI.

I HAD supped, and was just beginning to dose, when, on the last of *April*, I received your Packet, in which you mention the Partition of the *Campanian* Lands. You need not doubt that the News touched me so as to banish Sleep. I lay waking, however, from musing rather than Uneasiness, and the following Reflections came into my Head.

In the first Place, as you had wrote me in former Letters, that a certain Friend of a certain Person told you, he was to propose a Scheme, which nobody could oppose, I was afraid of some more important Affair; for this did not seem to me to answer that Description. But then again, it gave me some Comfort to think to what a fine Pass all this mighty Expectation from the *Campanian* Division is brought; when supposing it to be divided amongst 5000, no more than ten Acres can fall to every Man's Share. The Consequence of this must be, their losing the Hearts of all who are excluded from the Division. I again thought, that if there was a Thing that could fire the Minds of Men of Property, which were already heated, it was this; and the rather because the Customs of *Italy* being taken away, and the *Campanian* Estates divided, shew me a civil Revenue we have left, besides our twentieth (1), which in one blind Meeting will vanish as soon as it shall please our Footmen to set up a Cry.

(1) This was a Tax paid upon the Purchase or Manumission of Slaves, and run up in the Nature of our sinking Fund, not to be applied but when the Exigency was very pressing.

As to our Friend *Pompey*, I really know not what to make of him

*For now he touches not the slender Reed
But blows the swelling Trumpet—(1)*

To such Extremities he has let Matters run! For hitherto he pleaded (2) that he approved of *Cæsar's* Laws, but that *Cæsar* himself ought to carry them into Execution; that he was always for an *Agrarian* Law; that it was no Affair of his whether it was acceded to by the Tribunes or not; that he would, with all his Heart, agree to any Proposal for finishing the Business of the *Egyptian* King (3); that it was as little his Business to enquire whether *Bibulus* had gone thro' all the Ceremonies of the Auspices; as to the Farmers of the Revenue, he would, with all his Heart, make that Body easy; that he could not foresee or answer for the Event, if *Bibulus* should enter himself as a Party in the Forum.

But now my Friend *Pompey*, what do you say to this Juncture? That you have settled a Revenue for us (4) upon Mount *Libanus*, but have deprived us of our *Campanian* Estates; and what, pray, have you gained us by this? I will keep you under, says he, by *Cæsar's* Troops. Not you, by Heavens, so much by them, as by the Ingratitude of those whom we call Men of Property; Men who never have repaid, who never have thanked, me for my Services;

(1) Orig. Φυσᾶ γὰρ ὃ σμικροῖσιν αὐλίσκοις ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἀγχαίαις φύσαισι φοβεραῖαι ἄτις. *Spirat enim non jam exilibus tibiolis, sed immanibus tibiis sine ligula.*

(2) Orig. ἰσοφιζέτο. *Cavillabatur.*

(3) This related to the Dispute concerning the Succession to the Crown of *Egypt*.

(4) This alludes to the Conquests of *Pompey* in the East.

may, not for my Speeches. Should I bestir myself against that Party, I should, take my Word for it, find Means to raise an Opposition. My whole Scheme of Life, however, at present, is this, that as your Friend *Dicæarchus* is diametrically opposite to my Friend *Theophrastus*, the first preferring an active (1), the other a speculative (2) Life, I will, by my Conduct, reconcile both. I imagine I have already sufficiently satisfied *Dicæarchus*; it is therefore Time for me to pay the same Regard to a Sect, which not only allows me to repose, but blames me for ever labouring. Therefore, my Friend, let us ply to those delightful Studies; let us, at last, turn to the Path, from whence we ought never to have departed.

As to what you write concerning your Letter from my Brother *Quintus*, his to me was likewise very grotesque (3), so that I know not what to make of it. For in his first Lines ones Heart is touched in hearing him bewail the Condition of his Dwelling-house, and then, dropping that, he begs of me to revise and publish his Annals. I wish, however, that you would mind what he writes concerning the Duties upon Carriages, from one Place to another within the Province; he says, that he has been advised to refer the Thing to the Senate. He had, it seems, not seen my Letter; in which, after Deliberation and Enquiry, I wrote him that those Duties ought not to be levied. In case any of the *Greeks* are come to *Rome* upon that Business from *Asia*, I desire

(1) Orig. τὸν πρακτικὸν βίον. *Vitam quæ in rebus agendis versatur.*

(2) Orig. τὸν θεωρητικὸν. *Quæ in rerum contemplatione.*

(3) Orig. πρίσθι λέων ἔσθην δὲ. *Ante leo, a tergoque, &c.*

that

that you will give them a Meeting, and lay before them, if you please, my Sentiments on that Head. If I can get from hence, rather than that an excellent Cause should perish in the Senate, I will satisfy the Farmers of the Revenue; if otherwise (1), betwixt you and me, I would rather please all *Asia*, and the Merchants who are so very much interested in this Matter, and that, in my Opinion, is our Gain. But that I leave to you.

But now as to the Questors, what do they say to the Payments in the *Asian* Currency? For if after we have tried every Thing, this should be found the only Expedient, I had rather take that than nothing. I hope to see you at *Arpinum*, and I will entertain you with our Country Cheer, since you are out of Love with the Sea-Coast.

E P I S T. XVII.

WELL, 'tis as you write, *Pompey* turns every Thing topsy-turvy, and we are to fear the worst. He makes wide Strides to Supremacy (2). What else can you make of his extraordinary Marriage, his dividing the *Campanian* Lands, and this Profusion of public Money? Did Matters rest here, yet still they have gone too far. But the Nature of Things is such, that they cannot rest here. As there is nothing in all this Management that can recommend it of itself, they never would have gone so far, had it not been to open a detestable Access to farther Views of Ambition. Immortal Gods!

(1) Orig. εἰ δὲ μὴ. Sin autem.

(2) Orig. ὑποδοχὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ. Aperte tyrannidem affectat.

But

But as you write, we shall have studied Philosophy to fine Purpose; if, when we meet at *Arpinum* about the 10th of May, we shall shed Tears at such a Prospect. No, let us talk the Affair coolly over.

And yet I do not now, as formerly, take Comfort in Hope (1), so much as in Indifference (2), and an Indifference too, to which I am a Stranger in all Concerns but those that are public and political. But let me confess the Truth, (for it is a fine thing for a Man to know his own Foibles,) every vain, every aspiring, Sentiment (3) about me is flattered by this State of Affairs. Nothing used to mortify me so much, as the Fear that, 600 hundred Years hence, *Pompey's* Services to his Country should be thought greater than mine. But now, surely, I need not have any such Apprehension; for he is so low in public Esteem, that the meanest Wretch seems a Patriot, compared to him (4). But of this we'll talk, when we meet together. For it seems to me that you will be at *Rome* before me, which I will be glad of, if it is convenient for you. If this should happen as you write, I beg that you would fish out of *Theophanes* how I stand with *Pompey* (5). You may take your own dextrous (6) Way of doing this, and let me have it as a Rule (7) for my Conduct. Some Con-

(1) Orig. *εὐχαιρία*. *Bona spes*.

(2) Orig. *ἀδιαφορία*. *In neutram partem inclinatio*.

(3) Orig. *ἀφιλόδοξος*. *A gloria cupiditate alienum*.

(4) Orig. *Jacet enim ille sic ut prætis Curiana stare videatur*. This is one of Cicero's desperate Passages. His Meaning, however, is very clear.

(5) Orig. *Alabarches*.

(6) Orig. *κατὰ τὸ κριτικόν*. *Accurate*.

(7) Orig. *ὑποθήκας*. *Documenta*.

jectures from his Hints may be formed as to the State of Affairs in general (1).

E P I S T. XVIII.

I HAVE received from you some Letters, in which I can see how earnestly, how impatiently, you long to hear News of the Public. We are beset on all Hands. It is now past all Doubt that we must be Slaves; and though Slavery is incomparably the greatest Evil, yet we account it less than Death or Banishment, which we daily dread. Now the State of public Affairs is this, that every Body groans with his Sorrows, but nobody gives them Vent in Words. The Scheme (2), I believe, of those who are at the Helm, is to exhaust the civil Revenue so much, as to leave nothing to be given hereafter. Young *Curio* (3) is the only one who speaks against, and avowedly opposes, those Measures. He meets with Peals of Applause, with the most honourable Compliments, in the Forum, and with many Intimations of Friendship from our Men of Property, while *Fufius* is followed with Houtings, Hisses and Reproaches.

All this, you say, does not present a very comfortable Prospect; but how much more woful is it, when we consider, that the Spirit of our Countrymen is unbraced, and their Virtue choaked! You will now, perhaps, tease me, by enquiring after

(1) *Orig.* περὶ τῶν ὅλων. *De summa rerum.*

(2) *Orig.* σκοπιὰς, *Scopus.*

(3) This was a favourite Slave of Cicero's Brother *Quintus*, and was the Cause of all the Complaints against his Master's Government.

Particulars;

Particulars (1); but take this as the Summary of the whole; There is not a Shadow of Hope of future Liberty for private Persons, nay not for Magistrates. And yet, melancholy as our Situation is, we talk more freely than ever in our Cabals and Entertainments. Sorrow begins to get the better of Fear; every Thing, however, is in a most desperate Condition. There is likewise an Article in the *Campanian Law*, which obliges all Candidates publicly to swear to their own Damnation, if ever they shall so much as propose to alter it from the Form in which it has been left by *Cæsar*. Almost every body has readily taken this Oath; *Laterensis* is thought to have acted with Prudence in giving up his Pretences to the Tribuneship, rather than take it. But indeed I have no great Pleasure of writing farther of public Matters; it hurts me, and I do it with Pain; I support myself, not ingloriously, considering our general Wreck, though far unequally to my former Actions.

Cæsar very genteely invites me to accept of the Post of being his Lieutenant. I may likewise have a free Legation for performing a Vow. But this does not sufficiently protect me against the Impudence of *Clodius*, and it sends me from *Rome* when my Brother comes to it.

The Legateship is safer, and at the same Time does not bar me from coming to *Rome*, when I have a Mind. I hold it, but do not think I shall use it. That, however, is a Secret to all but you. I don't love to retreat, I long to be in Action. Some People are greatly disposed—but I say nothing for certain; nor do you repeat any Thing.

(1) *Orig. xalla xwsiw. Minutatum.*

I fretted indeed at the Manumission of *Statius*, and some other Matters, but I am now grown quite callous to every Thing of that Kind. I wish for your Presence, that I may have both Counsel and Comfort; but keep yourself in such Readiness, as, if I bellow out for you, you may fly to my Assistance.

E P I S T. XIX.

I AM troubled at many Things, both on Account of this general Combustion in the State, and the Millions of Dangers which environ myself. But nothing gives me greater Pain than the Manumission of *Statius*. "That he should disdain my Authority (1), that he should even have no Regard for my Displeasure." I am at a Loss how to behave, yet the Matter makes more Noise than it ought. As for my Part, I cannot be so much as out of Humour with those whom I love, though this gives me great, and sensible, Concern.

But now as to Affairs of greater Consequence. I bear with Indifference the Threats of *Clodius*, and the Difficulties I am to struggle with. I think I am able to encounter them with the greatest Honour, or to decline them without the least Discredit. "As to my Honour, you'll perhaps say, that it has been long enough at Grass (2); Think, my Friend, of your Safety". How unhappy is it, that you will not come hither, you would then see through

(1) These are the Words of *Demipho*, in the *Phormio* of *Térence*, when he complains of his Son's Conduct.

(2) *Orig. Dices fortasse dignitatis ævis (satis) tanquam devis (glandis.)*

every Thing. I am not, perhaps, so quick-sighted (1), I am even, too honest to thrive in this World (2).

You must know, then, that never was there any thing so infamous, never was there any thing so generally distasteful to all Kinds, Orders, and Ages of Men, as our present Situation of Affairs is. It is more so than I could have wished, nay than I could have believed it to be; for our Men in Power have taught even the most modest of their Countrymen to hiss at their Conduct. *Bibulus* is extolled to the Skies, but I know not for what. He is cried up as the only Man

Who saves his Country by Retreat.

My darling *Pompey* gives me great Concern in his being the Executioner of his own Popularity. He has not a Follower. I am afraid that he must now continue connected with *Cæsar* and *Crassus*, through Dread, as well as Inclination. For my Part, I do not oppose that Party, because I was once his Friend; nor do I approve of all they do, for fear of giving the Lie to all I have done. I observe a Mean.

The People discover their Sentiments chiefly at the Theatre, and in the public Diversions. For in the Shew of Gladiators, he, who exhibited them (3), and all his Friends, were soundly hissed. At the *Apollinarian* Plays (4), the tragedian *Dipbilus* run out against

(2) Orig. τυφλότης. *Cæcutio*.

(2) Orig. τῷ καλῷ προσώπῳ. *Erga honestum sum affectus*.

(3) This was *Gabinus*, a great Friend to *Cæsar* and *Pompey*.

(4) *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that *Pompey* was actually present at these Plays, and that the Player pointed to him when he pronounced the Words in question. I own I cannot find the Inconsistency

against our Friend *Pompey* with great Insolence. He was forced a thousand Times to repeat the Expression, "To our sad Experience art thou great." The whole Theatre rung with Applauses when he came to that Passage, "The Time will come, when you shall heavily bemoan the Pre-eminence you are now proud of (1)." And thus the whole Play went on. You would say that the Speeches of it had been composed by some Enemy to *Pompey* to fit the Occasion. There was a Thunder of Applause and Clappings when the Player repeated, "If you are above all Law and Virtue." *Cæsar* was received with a faint Applause. He was followed by the younger *Curio*, who was received with as much Applause as used to attend *Pompey*, when he returned from his great Services to the State. This gave no small Disquiet to *Cæsar*. It is said that he has wrote to *Pompey* at *Capua*. They were displeased with those Knights, who rose up while they were clapping *Curio*, and they declared War against the whole World. They threatened Destruction even to the *Roscian* (2) Law; and that concerning Provisions. It must be confessed, that every thing is turned upside down. I would, with all my Heart, that their Conduct should pass without any Noise; but that I

consistency so much talked of between our Author and *Valerius*; since nothing in this Passage is absolutely conclusive that *Pompey* was at *Capua* during the Exhibition of the Plays.

(1) When we compare this Passage with the Fate of *Pompey* which followed afterwards, we cannot help concluding, that the *Romans* were at this Time perfectly sensible of the Superiority of Genius and the ambitious Views of *Cæsar*.

(2) By this *Roscian* Law, a Place was assigned for the *Roman* Knights at the public Diversions. The Law for the Distribution of Provisions, appointed a certain Quantity of Corn either to be remitted to the People, or to be distributed amongst them.

am afraid is not practicable. The People now think the Burthen they are laid under to be intolerable. But the general Voice is now united, not through Hopes of Relief, but Hatred of Persons.

As to my Friend *Clodius*, he is my avowed Enemy; he threatens my Destruction, and he is now about an Affair which will make you fly to my Assistance. I flatter myself, that the consular Band of Patriots who have hitherto protected me, even of those who are little more than luke-warm, are still firm in my Interest. *Pompey* gives me extraordinary Intimations of his Friendship. He even assures me, that *Clodius* will make no Proposition against me. But in this I am not to be deceived, though *Pompey* is.

I am invited to accept the Post of the deceased *Cosconius* (1); a Post which is the same as if I should succeed to all the Demerit of the deceased, and which, besides making me scandalous with the Public, is entirely incompatible with my Safety (2). That Commission is hated by all Patriots, and should I act in it, I must take upon myself another Man's Demerits with my Friends, without lessening the Load of Envy I have contracted from the Profligate. *Cæsar* invites me to be his Legate, which is a more honourable Shelter from Danger. But at this Time I am against accepting it. Well, what am I to do? I chuse to fight it out; yet am I come to no certain Resolution. I repeat it, I wish

(1) He had been Prætor, and was one of the Commissioners for the *Agrarian* Law.

(2) *Orig. ἀσφάλεια. Securitates.*

that

that you were here; I will, however, call upon you if I am under an absolute Necessity.

What can I write, what can I say more? The Republic is infallibly ruined. There is no dissembling (1) it longer, I write this with a hasty, and by Heavens with a trembling, Hand. If, after this, I shall find a faithful Bearer, I will write you every thing at large; but supposing I only give you Hints, you will easily understand them. In such Letters, I shall be *Lælius* and you shall be *Furius*. Every thing else shall be ænigmatical (2). I am here applying with great Care to the Patronage and Friendship of *Cæcilius*. I understand that you have received the Protests of *Bibulus* (3); they give our Friend *Pompey* great Displeasure and Concern.

E P I S T. XX.

I HAVE obeyed your Pleasure, by being, as far as I could, in all Respects, serviceable to *Anicæsus*. I received *Numestius* with Pleasure into the Number of my Friends upon your recommending him so warmly. I am as obliging as I possibly can to *Cæcilius*; I am pleased with *Varro*; I am the Friend and Darling of *Pompey*. “Do you believe him sincere, say you?” I answer, yes. He has thoroughly convinced me that he is. But as I

(1) Orig. ἀκρίβομαι. *Diffimulamus*.

(2) Orig. ἐν αἰνυμοῖς. *In ænigmatibus*.

(3) He was *Cæsar*'s Colleague in the Consulship, and finding all his Opposition to *Cæsar*'s Actions tended only to endanger his own Life, he shut himself up in his House, and was satisfied with publishing thundering Protests against all the Proceedings of the Government.

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perceive your Men who know the World, in all their Histories, Rules, and even Verses, enjoin Caution and Distrust, I make it a Point to be cautious, though at the same Time I cannot help being convinced he is sincere. *Clodius* persists in his Threatenings against me; *Pompey* assures me there is no Danger; he swears to this, and that he'll even stake his own Life against the least Violence that shall be offered to me. The Thing is now in Agitation, and I'll let you know as soon as any Measure is resolved on. If I must enter into Action, I must call upon you to bear a Part. If I am suffered to remain quiet, I will not disturb your Repose at your *Amalthea*.

I will give you but a very few Hints concerning public Matters; for I am now even afraid that the Papers shall betray me. Therefore if I keep any farther Correspondence with you, I must wrap it up in Allegories (1). In the mean while, let me tell you, the State is dying of a new Kind of a Malady. The Symptoms are, that every Body joins in condemning, complaining of, and crying over, our present Measures; they talk loud, their Groans are distinctly heard; and yet nobody stirs to the Relief of the Public. I am of Opinion that Opposition would be attended with a Massacre; nor can I see where our farther Yielding can end, but in public Ruin. The Applause and Approbation of Mankind have elevated *Bibulus* to the Skies; his Protests are read, his Harangues are repeated every where. His may be called a new Path to Popularity, for nothing is now so grateful to the People as Invec-

(1) Orig. ἀλληγορίας. *Allegoriis*.

tives against their Patrons. I tremble to think on the Explosion that all this must make. But when the Mists shall begin to dispel, I'll write you more fully.

If you love me, as I know you do, keep yourself in Readiness to fly to my Assistance the Moment I call upon you. But I have taken, and will take, Care to give you no unnecessary Disturbance. There is no Occasion for your changing your Name into that of *Furius*. I shall be *Lælius* and you *Atticus*. But I will correspond with you neither by my own Hand-Writing, nor under my Seal, at least, if the Subject should be of such a Nature as that I would not wish it to fall into strange Hands. *Diodotus* is dead, and has left me about 600 Pounds. *Bibulus*, in a bloody, sarcastical Protest, has adjourned the consular Elections, to the 18th of *October*. I have received the Books of *Vibius*. He is a wretched Poet, but yet the Man has some Knowledge, and is of some Use ; I will transcribe them and send them back.

E P I S T. XXI.

WHAT shall I write you concerning my real Sentiments of public Affairs ? All is ruined, and in this Circumstance they are more wretched than you left them, that the Tyranny of the State at that Time seemed to be relished by the People, and though disrelished by the Patriots, yet it did not threaten any very ruinous Consequences. But at present, it is held in such universal Abhorrence that I tremble to think where the Ball will burst. For we

have experienced the Passion and Pride of those, who, from their Rancour to *Cato*, have ruined every thing. But they have dispatched us with a Poison so slow, that we seem to expire without a Pang. At this Time, however, I am afraid lest the Flame should be again blown up by the Hisses of the People, the Speeches of Patriots, and the Discontents of *Italy*. For my Part, as I have often told you, I was in hopes that the Wheel of Government would turn round in such a Manner as that we could scarcely hear its Noise, or see its Mark; and Matters had passed so, if People could have waited 'till the Storm was blown over; but having long sighed in private, they then groaned, and then spoke out, and at last became clamorous.

Thus our Friend, unused to Disgrace, accustomed to Applause, and borne on a Tide of Glory, is now altered in his Countenance, broken in his Spirit, and to what Hand he should turn he knows not. Should he go forward, he rushes headlong; should he retreat, his Footing is slippery. The Worthy hate him, the Profligate do not love him. But to shew you the Tenderness of my Heart, I could not refrain from Tears, when on the 25th of *July*, I saw him declaiming against the Protests of *Bibulus*; he, I say, who before used to appear with so much Pomp in that Place, possessed of the People's Applause, and the Affections of Mankind; how mean, how abject did he then appear! His Figure was shocking to the By-standers, nay to himself. His Appearance could be pleasing only to *Crassus* (1); it could be agreea-

(1) *Crassus* hated *Pompey* personally, though he was at this Time politically connected with him.

ble to none besides. He seemed not to have been let down, but to have been flung from, the Firmament of his Glory.

Supposing an *Apelles* were to see his *Venus*, or a *Protogenes* his *Falyfus* (1) bedaubed with Mortar, we may imagine what Pain the Artist would feel; and I own it gave me equal Concern when I saw the Man, whom I had painted out with all the Colours, whom I had adorned with all the Touches, of my Eloquence, thus suddenly disfigured; while, at the same Time, every Body thought, from the Affair of *Clodius*, that I owed him no Friendship; but my Love is of such a Nature, that it could not be drained by any Injury. As a Proof of what I have been saying, the People are so fond of the bloody Protests of *Bibulus* against him, that the Street, where they are stuck up, is unpassable through the Crouds of People who read them. As to *Pompey*, he feels them so much, that he pines away with Pain. By Heavens, I can't help saying, that they gave me Pain too, both, because they torture the Person whom I have always befriended, and because I fear, lest a Man so over-bearing, so terrible in Action, and so unused to Affronts, should give his whole Soul up to gratify his Resentment and Passion.

What will become of *Bibulus* I know not. As Things stand, he is at the Top of Glory. For, after he had adjourned the Elections to the Month of *October*, a Measure, that used to be very disagreeable to the common People, *Cæsar* endeavoured, by his Speeches, to spirit them up against *Bibulus*. But, after he had thrown out a great many uncon-

(1) These were two famous Pictures among the Ancients.

stitutional Expressions, he could not squeeze a single Word from the Assembly. In short, the Party perceives that they are unpopular with all Men, and for that Reason I am the more afraid of Violence.

Clodius continues to be my Enemy, and *Pompey* to assure me that he will do nothing against me. It is dangerous for me to believe him, and therefore I make myself ready for Action. I hope that I have, on my Side, the warm Affections of all our Orders, and that I shall have your Assistance when I require it, especially when it becomes necessary to my Affairs. If I shall then see you, I shall receive a great Addition of Prudence and Spirit, nay of Safety. *Varro* gives me Contentment, *Pompey* speaks as if he were inspired, and I hope that even I shall make my Retreat with great Glory, or at least without much Dishonour. Pray let me know how you are employed, what are your Diversions, and what you have done with the *Sicyonians*.

E P I S T. XXII.

HOW do I wish you had stayed at *Rome*! I protest you should have stayed, had I known what was to happen. For we should easily have managed *Clodius* (1), at least we should have been able to have formed a Judgment of his future Proceedings. The Matter stands thus at present. He runs foaming about ;

(1) *Orig. Nam pulchellum nostrum facillime teneremus.* Monsieur *St. Real*, and Monsieur *Mongault* translate this Expression, *Nous gouvernerions facilement Clodius.*

It appears from this Passage, as I have translated it, how great an Opinion our Author had of his Friend's Abilities in the Management of Parties. We cannot, however, help observing, that *Cicero* sometimes requires of *Atticus*, certain Services which

about ; his Steps are unsteady ; he seems ready to fly on all he meets, and whatever Chance throws in his Way, directs his Motions. When he casts his Eyes upon the Government, which is now so generally detested, he seems to point his Attack that Way ; but turns short upon us as soon as he reflects upon their Interests, and the Strength of their Army (1). As to my Part, he threatens me both with Force and Law.

Pompey has dealt with him, and, as I had it from himself, (for I have it from no body else) he has dealt with him in great earnest. He represented to him, that he, *Pompey*, should be thought the most treacherous, the most infamous of Mankind, if I should be endangered by the Man, into whose Hands he put the Sword, by suffering him to be enrolled amongst the Commons : That he had Assurances concerning me, both from him (*Clodius*) and *Appius* : That if they did not stand to their Word, he would proceed, in a Manner, that should convince all the World, that he regarded nothing so much as the long Continuance of his Friendship with me. *Pompey* added, that, after he had talked a great deal to the same Purpose, against which *Clodius* had many and long Objections, he at last gave *Pompey* his Hand, and assured him, that he would do nothing a-

which were not quite agreeable to the Character of a Gentleman ; such as pumping those whom he visited and stood well with, for their secrets, that he might reveal them to our Author. I am afraid there is somewhat of that Kind, hinted at in this Passage ; because, when we compare it with many other Passages in those Letters, we cannot help concluding, that one of the most important Pieces of Friendship which our Author expected of *Atticus* was, that the latter should be a secret Spy for him upon the Conduct and Conversation of the Friends of *Clodius*.

(1) Alluding to two Legions which *Cæsar* commanded in *Italy*, and which he afterwards carried to *Gaul*.

against

gainst his Pleasure. Notwithstanding this, he has continued his Invectives against me with great Rancour; but indeed I should not have trusted him, though he had done otherwise, and I should have taken the same Measures, I now take, for my Defence. My Conduct, at present, is such, that I daily make Accessions of Popularity and Interest, without my meddling, in any Shape, with public Affairs. I apply myself assiduously to the Bar, and to my Business in the *Forum*. This, I perceive, gives wonderful Satisfaction, not only to my Clients, but to the People. The Resort of Company, to my House, is great; they distinguish me with Honour on the Streets, the Glory of my Consulship rises fresh to their Remembrance, and every Thing gives me Intimations of their Affections. Upon the whole, I am in hopes that I shall soon be in a Condition not to decline the Combat that is offered me.

Now is the Time that I stand in need of your Advice, your Affection, and your Friendship. Fly therefore to my Assistance; I can do great Matters by means of *Varro* (3), which, when you prompt him, will be more effectual. We can then draw, we can then learn, from *Clodius* himself, many Things which must come to your Knowledge. Many Things—But where is the Necessity of Particulars?—Once for all, come to me. You may depend upon one Thing, that every Particular shall be explained when I see you. It must be before *Clodius* enters upon his Magistracy; for that is the most material Point. I am of Opinion, if you were here, you might make use of his Sister to put *Craffus* upon

(3) He was the most learned of all the *Romans*, and was now a Favourite with *Pompey*. He had been *Ædile*, and was looked upon to be a rising Man in the Government.

sounding

founding *Pompey*, and then you might learn, from her (1), how they stand affected towards me, and this would secure me from Disquiet, or at least from Mistake. I shall afterwards lay before you whatever Regards my Intention, my Danger, and my Situation.

I have nothing to write to you concerning public Affairs, but to inform you of the great Aversion of the Public to our all-engrossing Faction, but no hope of Change. You may easily conceive, that *Pompey* is out of Humour with himself, and heartily repents of his Conduct. I cannot distinctly foresee the Event, but there must be a Discharge some where. I have sent you back the Works of *Alexander*, who is a slovenly Fellow, and a very indifferent Poet, but not entirely without his Merit. I have, with Pleasure, received *Numerius Numestius* amongst the Number of my Friends; I have Experience of his Learning, his Wisdom, and how well he deserves your Recommendation.

E P I S T. XXIII.

I Believe this is the first Letter you ever had from me, that was not written by my own Hand. From whence you may conclude how much I am distracted with Business. For, I had not a leisure Moment; and, when to put myself in Wind (2),

(1) *Orig.* ὁμήρου. *Junonem*.

(2) *Orig.* *Recreandæ voculæ causa*. From this, and other Passages it appears, that *Cicero*, and the Ancients, used to walk in order to open their Lungs, which was of vast Advantage to their Voice.

I was

I was taking a Turn, I dictated this Letter in my Walks. In the first Place, I want you should know, that our Friend *Pompey* is heartily sick of his Condition, and that he would gladly wish to be re-instated in the Place from whence he is fallen; that he has made me the Confident of his melancholly Reflections, and sometimes positively asks my Advice how they can be cured. But indeed I can give him none. In the next Place, you must know, that all the Leaders, and Confederates of that Party, are, of themselves, dwindling away without an Opposition, and never was there a Time when People were more united than they now are, both in Sentiments and Speeches.

As to my own Part (for I know you expect to be informed of that Particular) I assist at none of their public Counsels, and I dedicate myself entirely to the Business and Labours of the *Forum*. From whence you may easily imagine, that I have frequent Opportunities of hearing my former Actions mentioned, with the warmest Wishes that the same Patriot Scene should now be re-acted. But the Brother of our Ox-eyed Dame (2), throws out, and threatens dreadful Things; he denies indeed all to *Pompey*, but, to every Body else, he makes a Merit of his Menaces. Therefore, (if you love me, as you really do,) if you are sleeping, awake; if you are standing, move; if you are moving, run; if you are running, fly. It is incredible how much I rely upon your consummate Sagacity and Wisdom, upon your Friendship and your Honour. The Importance of the Subject perhaps requires a long Detail, but so

(2) *Orig. Sed Bouwidos. (Junonis) nostra consanguineus.*

closely

closely connected are our Sentiments, that a Word is sufficient. It is a most important Point to me for you to be at *Rome*, as soon as *Clodius* is declared Tribune, if you cannot be there at the Election. I wish you well.

E P I S T. XXIV.

Nothing could be more pressing, nothing could be more earnest for your coming hither, than the Letters I wrote you by *Numestius*. Add, if you can, Wings to that Swiftnefs (1). Take not, however, this Importunity amiss; for I know how much you are my Friend; I know how solicitous, how anxious your Affections are; but the Matter I hope will not be so bad in the Event, as it is in the Report. *Vettius*, (2) the same who is my Spy, as I have learn'd, had promised *Cæsar*, that the younger *Curio* should fall under Suspicion of Mal-practices. Having therefore insinuated himself into an Intimacy with the young Man, and, as appears, had many Meetings with him, he went so far as to inform him, that he design'd to let loose his Slaves upon *Pompey*, and to murder him. *Curio* carry'd this to his Father, who discovered it to *Pompey*.

The Matter was brought into the Senate-house, where *Vettius* appear'd. At first he denied, that he

(1) *Orig. κίλισσον. Hortationem.*

(2) I own that this, amongst many other Circumstances, gives me strong Suspicions, that we know but half the Story of *Catiline's* Conspiracy, and of the Deaths of the Conspirators. This *Vettius*, upon whom by the by, *Cicero* relied for Intelligence, appears, from *Cicero's* own Words, here to have been a Fellow fitted for any Villany, and no Manner of Credit ought to have been given to his Evidence.

had ever any Conversation with *Curio* ; but he soon chang'd his Note, for he immediately demanded to be admitted an Evidence, which was easily granted. He then informed the House, that *Curio* was at the Head of a Conspiracy of young Men, in which *Paulus* originally entered with *Quintus Cæpio*, *Brutus*, and *Lentulus*, the Son of the *Flamen*, and that too with his Father's Privacy. He then said, that *Caius Septimius* brought him a Dagger from *Bibulus*. The *Senate* laughed at all this Stuff, and at the Absurdity of *Vettius* being without a Dagger, unless the Consul had given him one. Another Circumstance concurred to discredit the Information with the House, which was, that, on the 13th of May, *Bibulus* had put *Pompey* on his Guard against Treachery, for which he had *Pompey's* Thanks. The younger *Curio* was brought in, and spoke to all that *Vettius* had advanced, and confounded his Accuser upon one Circumstance, which was, his saying, the young Men intended to attack *Pompey* in the *Forum*, with the *Gladiators* of *Gabinus*, and that *Paulus* was to lead them on ; when it appeared, that, at that very Time, *Paulus* was in *Macedonia*. The *Senate* decreed, that *Vettius*, having confessed his Wearing a Weapon, (1) should be put in Irons, and whoever should deliver him, from thence, should be adjudged to be an Enemy to his Country. It was generally supposed, their Scheme was laid so, that *Vettius* should be taken in the *Forum* with a Dagger, and his Slaves with Weapons, and that then he would have asked to have

(3) This was a Kind of a Breach of the Peace, as appears by *Cicero's* Oration for *Milo*.

been admitted an Evidence; but that the Scheme was disconcerted by the previous Information which *Pompey* received from the *Curiones*. The Decree of the Senate was then repeated in an Assembly of the People.

Next Day; however *Cæsar*, the same who; when Prætor, ordered *Quintus Catulus* to plead from a Place unsuitable to his Quality (1), produced *Vettius* upon the Rostrum, a Place to which the Consul *Bibulus*, himself, durst not aspire. Here he gave a Loose to his Tongue upon public Matters, and having come well prepared and instructed, he, in the first Place, omitted *Cæpio* in his Charge; tho', in the Senate, he had accused him most atrociously. From thence it appeared how well he had been instructed by Night-Work, and Night-Devotions (2). In the next Place he named, as Accomplices, Men whom he had not tainted with the most distant Hint

(1) When *Cæsar* was Prætor, he obliged *Catulus*, who was one of the greatest Men in Rome, to account for his Conduct, while he was one of the Commissioners for Building the Capitol. But when he brought him before the Rostrum he examined *Catulus*, without desiring him to mount it. For no private Person could mount the Rostrum, without leave from a Magistrate, though that Compliment was generally paid to Men of Distinction, though no Magistrate, and *Cæsar* had even bestowed it upon so infamous a Fellow as *Vettius*,

(2) Orig. *Ut appareret noctem et nocturnam deprecationem intercessisse*. The Reader is here to understand, that there was an Intrigue, which was very freely talked of, between *Servilia*, the Mother of *Brutus*, who was likewise called *Cæpio*, from his being adopted into that Family, and *Cæsar*, who was thought to be the Father of *Brutus*. It was therefore natural for *Cæsar* and *Servilia* to order *Vettius* not to mention *Brutus*, upon this Occasion, though *Brutus* had otherwise great Provocation from *Pompey*, who had put his Father to Death, and so was a Person likely enough to enter into any Conspiracy against *Pompey*.

in the *Senate*, particularly *Lucullus* (1), who, he said, used to send to him *Caius Fannius*, who had acted, in the Impeachment, against *Clodius*; *Lucius Domitius Ænebarbus*, from whose House he said the Conspirators were to break out. He did not indeed expressly Name me, but he said that a fine spoken Consular, who lived in the Neighbourhood of a present Consul (2), had told him, that there was, at present, great Occasion for an *Abala Servilius* (3) or a *Brutus* (4). At last, when the Assembly was dismissed, and when he was called aside by *Vatinius*, he said, he heard, from *Curio*, that my Son-in-Law *Piso* and *Marcus Laterensis*, were concerned in the Conspiracy. *Vettius* is now accused, before *Crassus Dives*, of seditious Practices; but, supposing him condemned, he will pretend to make new Discoveries, and, if his Scheme take, we shall have abundance of Trials. Though I am not used to slight the smallest Matter, I have no Apprehension from all this. I can, at least, perceive great Intimations of the People's Affections for me, but so very full is every Thing of Wretchedness, that I am absolutely tired of my Life. A little while ago we were afraid of a Massacre, which was prevented only by the resolute Reply of that brave old Man *Quintus Confidius* (5), and thus

(1) There was no good Understanding between this great Man and *Pompey*, who had snatched, both from him and from *Crassus*, the Glory of finishing their Wars after their Difficulties and Dangers were over.

(2) *Cicero's* House was near that of *Cæsar*.

(3) *Abala Servilius* was General of the Horse, under *Cincinnatus*, and killed, with his own Hand, *Spurius Melius*, who was suspected of aspiring to the Government.

(4) The same who expelled the *Tarquins*.

(5) The Story was this, *Cæsar* filled the *Forum* with his Troops,

thus we, all of a Sudden, are seized with that Fear which might always have been before our Eyes. In short, nothing is more unfortunate than myself; nothing was ever more fortunate than *Catulus*, whether I regard the Dignity of his Life, or the Wretchedness of this Juncture. Amidst all this Variety of Woe, my Spirit continues calm and undejected, and I maintain my Character with great Propriety, and great Honour. *Pompey* desires me that I will not be uneasy concerning *Clodius*, and, in all his Speeches, he gives me the strongest Assurances of his Friendship. I want you, my Friend, to be the Director of my Conduct, to be the Partner of my Troubles, and the Intimate of all my Affections. Therefore have I charged *Numestius* to entreat you, and I repeat my Entreaty, if possible, in a more earnest Manner, that you will instantly fly to me. Your Company would again restore me to Life.

E P I S T. XXV.

WHenever I commend to you any of your Friends, I desire him to know by you that I have given him such Commendation. You know *Cato*, when he obtained the Government of the *Gauls* for five Years. This did not daunt *Cato* from opposing him. Upon which *Cæsar* was so exasperated, that he ordered *Cato* to be carried to Prison. This struck a Damp upon the People from the Opinion they had of *Cato's* Virtue. *Cæsar* was afraid of the Consequences, and saw he had mistaken his Measure, and, underhand, he prevailed with one of the Tribunes, who could do it, by his Office, to restore *Cato* to Liberty, but he still continued his Guards upon the *Senate House*. The Terrors of which drove great Numbers of the *Senators* from *Rome*. *Cæsar*, one Day taking Notice of the Thinness of the *Senate*, *Confidius*, told him, that the Members durst not attend for Fear of their Lives. Then, said *Cæsar*, why do you attend? Because, replied the other, I am too old to fear Death.

that I lately wrote to you how obliging *Varro* was to me, and you answered me, that it gave you great Pleasure to hear it. But I wish rather that you had wrote to him, not what he had done, but what he might do, would be obliging to me, for he has a wonderful Sagacity in discovering those, who, (you know the Saying) are out-side, and nothing else (1). But we keep by the Rule, "that we must suffer all from the uppermost (2)."

As for your Friend the Gardener (3), how profusely, how ingenuously, how elegantly did he extoll me when he mentioned the Prætorship of *Flaccus* (4), and the Conspiracy of the *Allebroges*. Take my Word for it, that he could not have expressed himself more affectionately, more honourably, or more copiously. I desire, by all Means, that you let him know, you have all this from me. But what do I talk of your writing to this Place, when I think you are already alighted, and entering the Room, for my former Letters talk to you in that Strain. I earnestly expect you, I earnestly desire your Presence, yet my Expectation and Desire are not greater than my Necessity and Danger.

I can add nothing to the Accounts I have already often sent you concerning public Affairs. Nothing can be more desperate than the State of the Public, and nothing more detestable than its Au-

(1) Orig. *ἰλιπτά κ' ἔδδν*. *Involuta et nihil*, &c.

(2) Orig. *τὰς τῶν κρατούντων*. *Potentiorum*, &c.

(3) Orig. *At Hercule alter tuus familiaris Hortalus*. This is a low Pun upon the Name of *Hortensius*, who is here meant.

(4) This *Flaccus* was accused before the People, and was defended by *Cicero*, and *Hortensius* who, it seems, took Occasion to extoll *Cicero*, by putting the Audience in Mind that *Flaccus* was Prætor the same Year, that *Cicero* was Consul!

thors.

thors. My Opinion, my Hope, my Conjecture tells me, that I am entirely secure in the Affections of my Country. Therefore fly to me, you either will deliver me from, or share in, all my Troubles; I have purposely curtailed this Letter, because I hope that, in a short Time, we shall talk together at entire Freedom. I wish you well.





C I C E R O's
E P I S T L E S
T O
A T T I C U S.

B O O K I I I.

E P I S T I.

I WISH to see the Day (1), to thank you for forcing me to live, hitherto I greatly repent it.

(1) The Reader will perceive, that *Cicero's* incautious Conduct, during his Consulship, and his cowardly Behaviour, when pushed by *Clodius*, had driven him into severe Banishment, which he bore with unparalleled Despondency. It is true, the Love of his Country is still visible through all his Expressions of personal Affliction, but a Man must be fond of *Cicero* to Madness and Enthusiasm, should he deny, that his Dejection and Despondency in his Adversity, was only proportioned to his Insolence and Vanity in his Prosperity. This is often, if not always, the Case with human Nature; nor is there a more illustrious Instance of it than in the Person of *Cicero*. In his Letters, where he lays open, without Reserve, the Sentiments of his Heart, we find him, by Turns, blaming or blackning, reproving or reviling, the greatest Men of *Rome*. We have already seen with what

it. But I beg that you will instantly meet me at
Monte-

what Contempt he, on all Occasions, characterises *Pompey*; how he loads *Craſſus*, blames *Cæſar*, vilifies *Hortenſius*, sneers at *Lucullus*, and treats even *Cato* as a wrong-headed Man, of a narrow Genius, and more fitted to mislead than to direct a Party.

Cicero made a very happy Choice of *Atticus* for his Conſident. He was a Roman Knight, who had formed to himſelf, and purſued, a Scheme of Pleaſure which that Age thought to be rational, and ſucceeding Times have pronounced to be amiable. He was a profeſſed *Epicurean*, and acted up to all the Refinements of that Sect, both in Morality and Friendſhip. His avow'd Maxim was to be eaſy under all Governments, and as Pleaſure was his Purſuit, he found, he could ſucceed only by becoming, "all Things to all Men." His Knowledge of Men and Books, made him the moſt entertaining Companion of his Age, while his good Senſe, and Experience of Life, gave him all the Advantages that could be fought in the Friend, or the Man of Genius. *Cicero*, whoſe Heart was good when uninfluenced by Fear or Vanity, found, in *Atticus*, what he could not find in the World beſides, a Man void of Prepoſſeſſions for any Party, and full of Benevolence for all Mankind. But *Cicero* did not reflect, that thoſe Qualities, ſo ſeemingly amiable, meant no more than that *Atticus* was reſolved not to be troubled with any Thing that concerned his Country, and wiſhed Mankind extremely well, becauſe another's Unhappineſs gave him Pain. Thus the Patriotiſm of *Atticus* was too diffuſed, and his Friendſhips too diſſipated. His Country had neither Benefit from his Abilities in the State, nor his Friends, from his Credit with the Public.

A Man thus formed, whoſe Company was courted, whoſe Converſation was admired, and whoſe Perſon was eſteemed, by all Parties, muſt have ſoon loſt his Character and Credit with all, had he been particular upon any one Point of public Concern; and ſuch the Caſe of *Cicero* was. That he avoided this is evident, not ſo much from the Hiſtory we have of *Atticus*, as from the repeated Intimations of our Author, who, by Turns, admoniſhes, exhorts, entreats, and even reproaches him, for his inſenſible Returns of Friendſhip. It is true, we have no Letters of *Atticus* to *Cicero*. But one with a very ſmall Share of Sagacity may venture to ſay, that they were full of general Affurances of Friendſhip, of Exhortations to bear his Miſfortunes patiently, of the Converſation he had with one great Man, of the Promiſes made him by another, and of the Declarations of a Third in his Favour, but without coming

Monteleone (1), to which I have many Reasons for retiring. But, if you come thither, we can consult together the whole Scheme of my Journey and Flight. If you do not agree to this I shall be surprised, but I trust that you will.

E P I S T. II.

THE Reason of my Departure was, because, in my Situation, there was no Place I could continue longer in than upon the Estate of *Sica*, especially as my Sentence is not engrossed (2). At the same Time, I understand that if I had you with me, I could go from thence to *Brundysum*, where, without your Protection, I could not continue on Account of *Autronius* (3). Now, as I wrote you

to any one Point which *Atticus* hazarded for his Friend, or in which he risked the Loss, either of his Credit, or his Interest with the *Roman* Grandees. Add to this, it is not impossible, and it may be even gathered from many Parts of our Author's Works, that *Atticus*, in his frequent unreserved Conversations with the Enemies of *Cicero*, might have dropt some Hints from which they might have gathered the Sentiments, if not the Views, of our Author.

(1) *Orig. Vibonem.*

(2) Before a Law in *Rome* was published, it was posted up in three Fair Days, in the whole twenty-seven Days, that it might be amended. The Bill against *Cicero* imported, that he should be prohibited from Fire and Water, that is, from all the Necessaries of Life, and that it should be penal for any one to give him Shelter. There was, however, no determined Distance to which he was banished, and the Law was posted up till that should be ascertained. *Cicero* took the Advantage of this Uncertainty to hover, for some Time, upon the Coast of *Italy*.

(3) He had then a Command in the *Roman* Army, and having been engaged in *Catiline's* Conspiracy, he had a Hatred for our Author.

before

before, if you come to me, we will concert our whole Plan of Proceeding. It is, I know, a troublesome Journey; but the whole of my Misfortunes are attended with Troubles of every Kind. I am so astonished, so dejected, that I can write no more. Farewell my Friend. Dated *April 8th* upon the Confines of *Lucania*.

E P I S T. III.

I HOPE you will impute it to my Misery, rather than my Irresolution, that I so suddenly left *Monteleone*, where I begged you to see me. I have received the Sentence of my Destruction, in which are the Infections I expected, and which imply that I am banished 400 Miles from *Italy*. Finding thus that I was not at Liberty to go to *Monteleone*, I immediately set out for *Brundisium*, so as to be there the Day before my Sentence taking Place, both to save *Sica*, my Landlord, from Destruction, and likewise because the Isle of *Malta* was too near to *Italy*. Do you now make Haste, that you may overtake me; I mean, if I am received there. Hitherto I have received very kind Invitations, but I dread what yet remains. My Friend, I greatly repent my having lived. It was chiefly owing to you that I did. But we will talk of this together. Do you only take care to come.

E P I S T. IV.

I Always thought it would be the greatest Advantage for me to have you along with me, but more than ever, when, upon reading my Sentence, I understood

understood that nothing could happen more desirable for me, with regard to my intended Journey, than that you should overtake me with the first Opportunity, so as, when I have left *Italy*, if I go through *Epirus*, I may be in Safety through you and your Friends ; or if I follow any other Course, that I may have your Counsel in coming to a positive Resolution. I therefore entreat, that you would immediately set out to overtake me. You may the more easily do this, as an Order is already passed concerning the Government of *Macedonia* (1). I would express myself to you more at large, were it not that my Circumstances plead for me to my Friend.

E P I S T. V.

MY Wife informs me frequently and fervently of your Kindness to her. I am greatly obliged to you for that. I have such Misery in Life, and such Anguish upon my Spirits, that what to write to you I know not. If you are at *Rome*, you cannot now overtake me ; but if you are on the Road, when we meet together, we will concert together. All I beg of you is, that as you have ever loved me personally, you will continue in the same Affections. I am still the same Man. My Enemies have stripped me of all I had without, but not of

(1) *Atticus* had a great deal of Business in that Province, the Government of which, with that of several adjacent Countries, had been granted to *Piso*, through the Interest of *Cleodius*.

what

what I had within me (1). My Friend I wish you well. Dated at *Thurium* the 10th of *April*.

E P I S T. VI.

I Flattered myself that I should have seen you at *Tarentum* or *Brundisium*, for many Reasons, especially that I might be determined as to my Residence in *Epirus*, and that I might have your Advice in settling other Matters. I place my Disappointment in this to the mighty Account of my other Miseries. I am setting out for *Cyzicum* (2) in *Asia*. I recommend to you, my Friends; as to what concerns myself, I can scarce be said to live, but to breathe, and that too with Pain. Dated the 18th of *April* from *Tarentum*.

E P I S T. VII.

I Arrived at *Brundisium* on the 18th of *April*, on which Day I received your Letters from your Slaves, and three Days after, your other Slaves brought me your other Packet. I am extremely obliged to you for your usual Kindness in inviting, and entreating me to reside at your House in *Epirus*. How passionately do I wish I could spend all the Time of my Exile there. For I hate a Croud, I shun Mankind, scarcely can I bear the Light. Such a

(1) *Orig. Inimici mei mea mihi, non me ipsum ademerunt.*
The Commentators have been at great Pains to puzzle this Passage, which I hope I have translated clearly and consistently with the Original.

(2) This was a Town in *Mysia* upon the *Propontis*.

Solitude, upon so friendly a Spot, would be, to me, by no means disagreeable. But, in the first Place, it is out of my Road to strike off to any Hand in my intended Journey; in the next Place, I shall be no more than four Days Journey distant from *Autronius* and his Associates; and lastly, I shall be without you. A Place of Safety would be of Service to me, were I settled, but I cannot carry it about with me in my Travels. If I durst venture, I would go to *Athens*, were it situated at the Distance I could wish. At present, my Enemies are thereabouts, I have not your Company, and I am afraid that that Town may be interpreted to be within my prescribed Distance from *Italy*, neither do you write me on what Day I am to expect you.

Your requiring me to live has the Effect of keeping me from doing Violence to myself. But it has not the other Effect you wish for, that of reconciling me to the Course I have followed, and to the Life I lead. For what is there for which I should now desire to live, especially if I am disappointed in the Hopes I carried with me out of *Rome* (1). I will not, indeed I will not, recount all the Wretchedness into which I am fallen, through the Stretch of Injustice, and the Wickedness, rather of those who envied, than of those who hated me, lest I should awaken myself to all the Horrors of my Condition, and you to a Feeling of my Sorrows. One Thing I affirm, that never was there Man oppressed with such Weight of Calamity, never had a Man more

(1) Our Author's Friends had, that they might get rid of him with the less Trouble to themselves, buoy'd him up with the Hopes that the Inconstancy of the People would soon recall him.

Reason to wish for Death. There was a Time when I might have died with Glory. The Remainder of my Days cannot cure, they can only finish, my Miseries.

I perceive that you collect all the public Matters, which you think can flatter my Hopes of seeing a Change of Times. Those Hopes, I own are faint, yet, to please you, I will live in Expectation; mean while, if you make haste, you can overtake me, for I shall either stop in *Epirus*, or I shall make very slow Journeys over the Mountains of *Candavia*(1). It is not through Irresolution that I make a Doubt of going by *Epirus*, but because I am yet uncertain where I am to see my Brother. See him did I say! How can I bear to see him? how can I bear to part with him! This compleats my Misery; of all my Woes this is the most woeful(2). I would write to you more frequently and more fully, did not Grief take from me all my Senses, and chiefly my Faculty of writing. I long to see you, I wish you well. Dated from *Brundusium* the last of *April*.

EPIST. VIII.

AS I was leaving *Brundusium*, I wrote you my Reasons for not going to *Epirus*, which were, because it was in the Neighbourhood of *Achaia*, and full of my most inveterate Enemies, and the Roads from thence are very bad. Add to this, when

(1) Those were a Chain of Mountains, reaching from *Illyria* to the Gulph of *Thessalonica*.

(2) *Orig. Miserrimam mearum omnium miseriarum.*

I was at *Durazzo*, I received two Accounts, one that my Brother was coming from *Ephesus* to *Athens* by Sea; the other that he was travelling by Land, thro' *Macedonia*. I therefore sent him a Message to *Athens*, desiring him to meet me at *Thessalonica*, where I arrived on the 23d of *May*, and all I can hear for certain concerning his Rout is, that he had been gone for some Days from *Ephesus*.

I own that I am excessively alarmed at what is intended against him at *Rome* (1), though yours of the 23d of *May* says, that he will be prosecuted with Severity, and in another Letter you intimate that Things are more softened. But this Letter is of an older Date than that which gives me Pain. Thus racked and consumed, as I am, with daily Sorrow, this Addition of Misery scarcely leaves me Strength to breathe. Now the Weather has been for some Time very tempestuous, and my Brother not knowing for certain where to find me, has, perhaps, held another Course. His Freedman *Pbaeto*, who was forced from him by a Storm into *Macedonia*, and was with me at *Pella*, had not seen him. I perceive I am not yet at the End of my Misery; I have nothing to write; I am afraid of every thing; and there is no Wretchedness of Woe that is wanting to the Measure of my Calamity. My excessive Troubles and Distresses receive this Aggravation of Misery, that I remain here at *Thessalonica* upon the

(1) *Cicero's* Brother *Quintus* was one of those Characters that act better in a subordinate, than in a first, Sphere of Life. For though he afterwards behaved extremely well as *Caesar's* Lieutenant, yet he acted in so arbitrary and insolent a Manner in his Government, that he was at this Time threatened with an Impeachment at *Rome*.

Rack of Doubt and Fear, without Spirit to support me.

Now, in Answer to your Letter, I have not seen *Trypho Cæcilius*. I have a Notion from your Letters of your Conversation with *Pompey*. But I cannot conceive any Hopes of such a Revolution in the Government, as you either foresee, or pretend to foresee, to give me Comfort. As *Pompey* has pocketed up the Affair of *Tigranes* (1), my Hopes are at an End; I will, as you desire me, return Thanks to *Varro* and *Hypsæus*. I am thinking of taking your Advice in not removing to a greater Distance from this, till I learn all that shall happen in the Month of *May*, but where I shall learn this, I am not yet resolved. The Truth is, I can resolve on nothing, so excessively am I discomposed about my Brother *Quintus*, I will, however, inform you of every Thing.

I am inclined to think that you see the Agitation of my Mind in the Inconsistency of my writing; but sunk as I am with incredible, unparalleled, Calamity, my Sorrow does not proceed so much from what I suffer, as from my Reflections upon my own Misconduct. You cannot now be a Stranger to the Wickedness of the Man who impelled and betrayed

(1) *Pompey* had brought one of the Sons of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia* to *Rome*, and committed him to the Custody of the Prætor *Flavius*, from whom *Clodius*, being bribed to it with great Sums, saved him, and privately put him on board a Ship for his own Country. The young Prince, however, being forced a-shore, *Flavius* went with a strong Body of Men to retake him; but he was encountered on the Road by *Clodius* and his Friends, who defeated *Flavius*, and cut his Party in Pieces. Though the great Interest of *Clodius* obliged *Pompey* to pocket this Affront up, yet it was one of the chief, though secret, Motives that determined him to recall *Cicero*.

me ; I wish to Heaven you had seen it before, and that you had not with me given up your whole Soul to unactive Sorrow. If therefore you shall hear that I am sunk, that I am consumed in Misery, you are to conclude, that I feel more from my own Imprudence, than for my Condition, because I trusted a Man whom I did not think to be the most wicked of Mankind. I am stopped from writing by my Reflections upon my own Misery, and my Fears concerning my Brother. I beg you will examine and manage all my Concerns. My Wife remembers you with the deepest Gratitude ; I have sent you a Copy of the Letter, which I sent to *Pompey*. Dated from *Thessalonica* the 29th of *May*.

E P I S T. IX.

ON the last of *April* my Brother *Quintus* left *Asia*, and on the 15th of *May* he arrived at *Athens*. He was obliged to make a great deal of Dispatch for *Rome*, for fear of receiving some Prejudice, in his Absence, from those who may not think that I am yet sufficiently miserable. I rather chose that he should make all the Haste possible to *Rome*, than come to me ; and at the same Time (for I will speak what is Truth that you may be sensible how boundless my Miseries are) I could not bring myself to look in the Face the Man who is so dear to my Soul, and see him melt to Compassion at my inexpressible Dejection ; nor could I suffer my wretched State should be presented to his Eyes, that he should be the ocular Witness of my desperate Fortune, or that I should even come within
his

his Sight. I was even afraid of what must have happened; I mean, that he could not have left me; I formed him to my Imagination, either resigning the Badges of his Authority, or suffering himself to be torn by force from my Embraces. I shunned this Bitterness of Affliction by another Bitterness, that of not seeing my Brother. To such a desperate Pass am I come, by following the Counsels of you who advised me to live. It is by following those Counsels that I am now punished.

After all, your Letters by which I perceive how sanguine your Hopes are, give me some Comfort, at least, I found in them some Consolation till you came to that Passage, "After you have gained *Pompey*, apply to *Hortensius* (1), and the rest of his "Party." What my dearest *Pomponius* are you still in the dark, as to the Men by whose Practices,

(1) Our Author is most unreasonably peevish with this great Man, and with the true Spirit of Jealousy gives us a great many Hints, as if *Hortensius* had helped to ruin him, that he might engross to himself the whole Glory of the Bar. There is somewhat extremely silly in all this, and nothing but *Cicero's* intolerable Vanity could have prevented him from seeing it. For when Things were brought to a desperate Pass, and when all the Tentatives of *Hortensius*, and our Author's other Friends could not save him, what did *Hortensius* do? "You have (we may suppose him to have said) done all that a good Patriot ought to do to save yourself. But act not now like a profligate Citizen, by taking up Arms, by lighting up a civil War in your Country, and anticipating her Miseries. You are not cut out to be a Leader in so desperate an Enterprize. Give Way, therefore, like a good Patriot to the Storm, when it is blown over, we will omit no Opportunity to serve you by constitutional Measures." This Speech, from *Cicero's* own Accounts, contains the Sum of all the Treachery of *Hortensius* towards him. *Hortensius* was as good as his Word. For we find, from *Cicero* himself, that he was amongst the first to push on all the Measures for his being recalled, and even exposed his Life to the Fury of *Clodius* upon that Account.

by whose Intrigues, ; by whose Perfidy, I am ruined. But I will talk this over with yourself, only I cannot help repeating what I believe, you know, that I was not ruined by those who hated, but by those who envied, me. After all, if Things are as you hope, I will support myself, and enjoy the Hopes that you recommend. But if they are, as I apprehend them to be, I am determined that the Action, which I was not at Liberty to perform, when I might have done it with Glory, shall be executed, though with less Advantage to my Character.

My Wife often remembers you with Thanks. The Affair of my unhappy Brother is one of the Misfortunes that gives me Concern. When I know how it stands with him, I shall know how to determine myself. According to your Advice I remain at *Thessalonica*, waiting Letters, and the Effects of those good Offices you mention. As soon as I have fresh Information, I shall speedily come to a Resolution. I may every Day expect to see you, if, as you write me, you left *Rome* on the 1st of *June*. I have sent you the Letter I wrote to *Pompey*. Dated from *Thessalonica*, *June* the 13th.

E P I S T. X.

I Have understood from your Letters all that passed till the 25th of *May*. I waited for Accounts of what has happened since that Time, by your Advice, at *Thessalonica*. When I have received them, I shall the more easily determine where I am to reside. For if there is Occasion, if any Thing is in hand,

if

if I have any Encouragement, I either will remain here, or I will repair to you. But if, as you inform me, there are but small Hopes of such Incidents, then must I determine on some other Course. Hitherto, you have hinted nothing to me but the Divisions that prevail amongst my Enemies; but those Divisions spring from other Matters than my Concerns, therefore, I cannot see how they can be of Advantage to me. I will, however, humour you as to every Circumstance, from which you desire me to hope for the best.

As to the frequent and severe Reproaches you throw out against my Want of Resolution, let me ask you, whether there is a Woe that does not serve to make up the Measure of my Calamity? Did ever Man fall from so elevated a Station, in so good a Cause, with such Advantages of Genius, Experience, and Popularity, or so guarded by the Interest of every worthy Patriot? Is it possible I should forget who I have been, that I should not feel who I am, what Glory, what Honour, what Children, what Fortunes, and what a Brother I have lost? A Brother (to show an unprecedented Kind of Calamity) whom I loved, whom I have ever loved, more than myself; yet have I been forced to avoid the Sight of this very Brother, lest I should either behold his Sorrow and Dejection, or present myself a Wretch undone and lost, to him who had left me in high and flourishing Circumstances. I omit the other intolerable Reflections that still remain; for I am stopped by my Tears. Tell me, am I most to blame, for giving Vent to such Sorrows, or for surviving my happy State, or for not still possessing it, which easily might I have done, had not the Plan of my De-

struction been laid within my own Walls. I write this that you may rather give me your usual Comfort, than think me worthy of Upbraidings and Revilings. I write but a short Letter to you, because I am hindered through my Grief, and the News I expect from *Rome* is of more Importance to me than any Thing I can write of myself. Whenever I know that, I will inform you exactly of my Resolution. I beg you will continue to inform me so particularly of every Thing, that I may be ignorant of nothing, that passes. Dated from *Thessalonica* the 18th of *June*.

E P I S T. XI.

SOME good News, though from very indifferent Hands, the Receipt of some of your Letters, the Expectation of more, and your Commands, detained me at *Thessalonica*. When I shall have received the Letters I expect, and shall find any ground for Hope in the Stories that now fly about, I will repair to you, if not, I will inform you of my Proceeding. Continue to assist me with your Cares, your Counsels, and your Interest. Leave off comforting me, but do not chide me; when you do that, ah! how do I feel the Want of your Love, and Condolence! though I figure you in my Mind, so affected by my Troubles, that you are inconsolable yourself. Support my best beloved, my tenderest Brother *Quintus*. I beg you will let me know all you can learn for certain. Dated this 28th of *June*.

E P I S T.

EPIST. XII.

YES—you are at great Pains to convince me of my Grounds for Hope, and especially from the Senate, and you tell me that a Motion would have been made concerning me in that House, but that none has been made, because of the Clause in my Act of Banishment against any such Motion. Here you upbraid me for afflicting myself, while you are conscious to yourself that no Man had ever greater Reason. You give me Hope after the Elections, but what can I hope for, while the acting Tribune, and the Consul elect (1) are my Enemies.

You have alarmed me likewise concerning my Speech that has been published (2), I beg that you will, if possible, heal that Sore; I own that I wrote it a great while ago, and in a Passion; but he gave the first Provocation; yet I took such Care to suppress it, that I never imagined it could have got abroad. By what Means it has been published I am ignorant. But as I never happened to have the least Word of Difference with him, and as the Thing itself is more slovenly than my other Compositions, I think it may be insisted upon, that it is none of mine. If you believe the Wound

(1) We learn from *Appian*, that it was enacted at *Rome* that when a Tribune of the People could not immediately, upon his going out of that Office, stand for another public Office, he was to have the Preference at the next Tribunitial Election. *Clodius* found the Tribuneship too serviceable for him to quit it for one Year; and the Consul here mentioned was *Nietellus* his Cousin-German, and a determined Enemy to *Cicero*.

(2) This Oration has not come to our Hands, and it probably was written against *Curio*.

that this has given me to be curable, I beg you to bestow your Pains about it ; but if I am ruined, I am the more indifferent. Here I lie, still on the same Spot, without the Exercise either of Tongue or Thought. Though, as you mention, I desired you would come to me at *Dodona*, yet I understand you may be of real Service to me in this Affair, where you are, and that, were you here, you could give me no Comfort even by your Conversation. I can write no more, nor have I more Subject to write upon. I therefore the more earnestly wait for yours. Dated at *Thessalonica*, the 17th of July.

E P I S T. XIII.

YOUR Letters have filled me with Expectation from *Pompey's* Friendship, whether secret or revealed. I suppose, by this Time, the Elections have been held, and then, you write me, that he intended to move in my Affair. If you think my Hopes foolish, you are to reflect, that they spring from the Encouragement you gave me ; at the same Time, I am sensible that those Letters used rather to check, than to encourage, my Hopes. At present I beg that you will represent Things to me as you really see them. I know that my repeated Misconduct has brought me into all my Troubles ; but should any Incidents, in any Degree, abate them, it will give me the less Pain that I have lived, and still continue to live.

I have not yet removed from *Thessalonica*, because the Road I must pass is so public, and because I
am

am in daily Expectation of some Revolution (1) ; but I am now even driven from it, not by *Plancius* (2) for he does all he can to keep me, but by the Place itself, which is very ill fitted for my enduring the Calamity of my weighty Sorrows. I did not, as I wrote you, go to *Epirus*, because sudden Intelligence and Letters came hither, informing me there was no Necessity for my being nearer to *Italy*. If I hear any News of the Elections, I will go from hence to *Asia*, but to what particular Place I am not yet determined. When I am, you shall know. Dated from *Theſſalonica* the 21^{ſt} of *July*.

EPIST. XIV.

AS to what I wrote you concerning my moving to *Epirus*. After I ſaw my Hopes diminifh and at laſt vaniſh, I have altered my Purpoſe ; nor did I remove from *Theſſalonica*, where I intend to remain, till I hear farther concerning what you hinted in your laſt Letters, about what *Pompey* told you of making ſome Motion about me in the Senate, when the Elections were over. Therefore, as that Time is paſt, and as you write me nothing concerning it, I hold it the ſame as if you had wrote me,

(1) Orig. *Ego, propter viæ celebritatem, et quotidianam expectationem rerum novarum, non commovi me adhuc Theſſalonica.* This Paſſage may be likewise tranſlated, that *Cicero* remained at *Theſſalonica*, becauſe he had there the Convenience of the great Road for his Intelligence, but my Tranſlation, I think, ſuits better with other Paſſages of his Epiſtles

(2) He was then *Quæſtor* of *Macedonia*.

that there is nothing in it, nor will I so much as repine that I flattered myself with the Hopes of a short Day (1).

As to the advantageous Turn, which, according to you, Affairs are likely to take in my Favour, they who come from *Rome* hither tell me it is all a Chimera. My Hope rests now upon the future Tribunes of the Commons, and if I live till they enter upon their Charge, you cannot surely reproach me for having been wanting to my own Interest, and to the Zeal of my Friends. You often accuse me for my heavy Dejection under my Misfortunes, but you ought to pardon me; for you never saw, you never heard of any one so distressed as I am. You write me, that you hear that my Sufferings have affected my Understanding. No; my Understanding is still sound, I wish it had been so at that Juncture, when I trusted to those spiteful, those hardened, Traitors, whom I imagined to be the best Friends to my Interest and Welfare; to those who, when they saw me somewhat staggered by my Apprehensions, drove me on by a Profusion of Wickedness and Treachery to my Ruin.

Now, as I am to remove to *Cyzicum*, where our Opportunities of Correspondence will be less frequent, I beg that you will be the more careful to

(1) Monsieur *Mongault* observes extreamly well, that all the Commentators have been mistaken in this Passage; but I do not think, that he himself has been entirely happy in rectifying them. The Original is, *Neque temporis non longinqui spe ductum esse molestie feram*. He translates it, *Il faudra me consoler de m'être jusqu'ici laissé repaître je vainement d'idée d'un retour prochain*. But I think it is much more natural to understand the short Day here mentioned to be meant of *Pompey's* Motion in the Senate, which *Cicero* flattered himself would be soon made.

inform

Inform me of all you think I ought to know. I recommend to you my Brother *Quintus*, should I, in my Misery, leave him safe, I shall not think that the whole of me is perished. Dated the 5th of *August*.

EPIST. XV.

I Received, on the 13th of August, four of your Letters. In the first, you Reproach me for want of Spirit; in the Second, you inform me of what you learned from the Freedman of *Crassus*, concerning my emaciated, desponding, Condition; in the Third, you inform me of the Proceedings in the Senate-house; in the Fourth, you tell me that *Varro* gives you fresh Assurances of *Pompey's* Inclinations to serve me.

In answer to the First, I assure you, that my Spirit is so far from being abated, that I hold it for one of my Misfortunes, that I have neither a Place, nor Persons, fit for employing the Stock of Resolution I am still possessed of. For if it gives you Pain to be without me, who am but one Friend, what, think you, must I feel, who am cut off from you, and all the Enjoyments I had upon Earth? If you, in the Flow of Happiness, bewail my Absence, how must I mourn for the Loss of Happiness itself? I will not enumerate the Blessings of which I am robbed, not only because you know them, but because I am unwilling to open the Wounds of my Affliction. I repeat it; never did Man fall from such a Height of Happiness into such a Depth of Misery. As to Time, it is so far
from

from abating, that it encreases, my Sorrows. Other Pains are alleviated, as they grow familiar to us ; but it is impossible that those I feel should not be daily encreased by the Sense of my present Misery, and the Remembrance of my departed Glory. I am deprived not only of my Fortune and of my Friends, but of myself. For what am I now ?—But I forbear to hurt your Mind by my Complaints, or to canker my Wounds by touching them too often.

You apologize for those, who, according to what I wrote you, envied me, and you put *Cato* in that Number. For my Part, I am so far from thinking him accessary to their Treachery, that it gives me the most sensible Concern to reflect, that their Hypocrisy had more Credit with me than his Sincerity. As to the rest, whom you endeavour to clear, they ought to stand acquitted by me if they are so with you. But these Reflections come now too late, I cannot conceive that the Freedman of *Crassus* (1) told you one Word of the Truth. You tell me that my Affair was finely managed in the Senate. But what shall I say of *Curio* ? Had he not read that Oration, which was published, I know not how. The Letters however, which I received from *Axi*us, concerning the Proceedings of the same Day, are not so lavish in *Curio*'s Praises. But he might perhaps omit somewhat ; I am sure you have writ me nothing but what actually happened. From what has fallen from *Varro*, I am in some Hopes from *Cæsar* ; would to Heaven that *Varro* himself

(1) This Person had represented *Cicero* in a dreadful Condition, which *Cicero*, a little inconsistently with himself, endeavours to contradict.

would

would stir in this Matter ; as he surely will when his own Inclinations are prompted by your Solicitations.

Should ever Fortune restore me to the Enjoyment of you and my Country, you, of all my Friends, should have the best Reason to rejoice ; and I would so warmly pursue my Affection for your Person, which I confess has hitherto shone but faintly, that you shall feel, as much as my Brother, or my Family shall, the Effects of my being restored. If I have failed in my Friendship for you, and the rather because I have failed, forgive me, for my Failures towards myself have been the most grievous. I write not this from any Ignorance of your great Affliction for my Misfortune. But to be plain with you, had your past and present Affection for me been founded upon past and present Gratitude, as well as Inclination, never could you have suffered me to have stood in need of that Council with which you could have so plentifully supplied me ; nor would you have suffered me to believe it was for my Service, that the Law, concerning the Companies of Tradesmen, should pass (1). But you have given the Share of Tears to my Affliction that was due from a Friend, or as if I had been yourself. If there has been any Omision it is to be imputed not to your, but to my,

(1) This was a specious Law which erected the Craftsmen of Rome into Companies, by which *Clodius*, and the Tribunes, had a ready Way of assembling their Party. *Cicero* had foreseen the Inconvenience of this Law, and was to have opposed it with all his Might. by Means of the Tribune *Nennius*, one of his Friends, but he was dissuaded from his Opposition, not perhaps without good Reason by his other Friends.

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Demerits ; my Services to you ought to have been such as to have claimed all your Time, by Day and Night, in thinking upon my Concerns. Had you, I will not say you, but had any of my Friends (tho' you could have done it most effectually) dissuaded me from that most infamous Step, when I was startled by the shuffling Answer of *Pompey*, I might have either fallen gloriously, or I might this Day, have lived in triumph. Here you will pardon me, for I accuse myself in the first Place, and you in the next, as being my otherself ; and, at the same Time, I am fond of excusing my Misconduct, by laying part of the Blame upon another. If I am restored from Banishment, my Miscarriages will not appear so heavy, at least not in your Eyes, because your Affection for me is the Result of your Inclinations, and not of my Merit.

As to what you write of your Conversation with *Culeo*, concerning the Personality of the Bill, and its being therefore invalid of itself, it has its Weight, but still it would be better were it formally repealed. If no one opposes the Repeal, what can be more valid ? But if it receives a Negative, the Decree of the Senate can still interpose, and then there would be nothing to do but to repeal it singly. As to the former Law, it did not in the least affect me, it never could have prejudiced me in any Shape, whether I had praised it, as it is already passed, or neglected it as it deserves (1). Here
my

(1) In order to the Reader's understanding the whole of this Passage, it is necessary he should be acquainted with the following Particulars. We have already seen, in the Course of these Letters, how useful the Friendship of our Author had been to *Pompey*, who repaid him with a Profusion of fine Speeches, extolling

my Foresight not only abandoned, but ruined
me

tolling his Conduct, his Genius, his Learning, and in short, touching upon every Thing that could flatter his Vanity, which was his Foible. At the same Time, he gave him the strongest Assurances, that *Clodius* neither could nor would pursue his Resentment against him to Extremities. But, even by *Cicero's* own Accounts, I do not find that *Pompey's* Promises went so far as that he would take up Arms in our Author's Defence, if Matters were brought to an Extremity. *Clodius*, who seems to have had great Genius, and to have been, next to *Cæsar*, one of the most understanding Men in *Rome*, knew very well that *Pompey* durst not break with him as long as he stood well with *Cæsar*. He treated, however, *Cicero* in all Discourses to *Pompey*, with a sneering Kind of Civility, and which *Pompey*, tho' he understood his Meaning well enough, repeated, to our Author, as current Professions. *Atticus* appears to have had but a very slender Opinion of *Pompey's* Sincerity, which is the Reason why our Author, in all his Letters to *Atticus*, pretends to distrust it, but, in reality, he was betrayed by his own Vanity, and he had a greater Reliance upon *Pompey*, than he was willing to own. This appears from *Cicero's* Conduct. For I do not find, notwithstanding all he says, that he took any Precautions for breaking the Force of *Clodius's* Faction. His excessive Vanity was indeed flattered, and nobody behaved to him like a Gentleman, excepting *Cæsar*, whose Abilities were too great to put him, as was the Case of *Pompey*, upon the Necessity of serving his Interest at the Expence of his Honour. He certainly had a great Contempt for *Cicero* as a Politician, or a Man of Resolution, but he was too good-natured not to pardon his Foibles, and too great not to admire his Abilities, as a Speaker and a Scholar. He would willingly have saved him, as appears from many Passages of our Author's Letters, but finding he could not, he took care to be as general towards him as possible, that he might set him softly down. And indeed I do not find, that *Cicero*, in fact, had Reason to complain either of Ingratitude or want of Honour in *Cæsar*. But this was far from being his Case with Regard to *Pompey*. For, perceiving that he could not hold out without the Assistance of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and having given the Former great Cause of Disgust, he applied the more assiduously to *Pompey* for his Friendship. But *Pompey* pretending to be afraid of his own Person, retired to his Country-house, to avoid the Importunity of *Cicero*, and his Friends, who consisted of all the Men of Quality, and Fortune in *Rome*. These followed *Pompey* to his Retirement. But after many Shifts and Evasions, *Pompey* refused to concern himself for *Cicero*, as a private Man, in Oppo-

me (1). We were blind, I say we were blind in
changing

fition to the Sentiments of the Consuls, and the Conduct of the *Tribunes*. This was a fair, though a flat, and I think a constitutional, Refusal. But it did not cure our Orator of the Vanity of believing, that *Pompey* was still his Friend in his Heart. He therefore endeavoured to apply to him in Person, but *Pompey*, to avoid an Interview with him, which must be disagreeable to both, slipped out at one Door of his House, as *Cicero* was entering at the other.

In the mean while, *Clodius* having entered upon his Tribuneship on the 10th of *December*, in the Year of *Rome* 694, proceeded with infinite Address to the Ruin of *Cicero*. To ingratiate himself with *Cæsar*, he affronted *Bibulus*. To please the People he procured a free Distribution of Corn in the Time of Scarcity, and a Re-establishment of the trading Companies or Communities taken Notice of in this Epistle, with an Erection of new ones, by which he could, at a Breath, raise all the Populace. Pretending that the censorial Authority (which was indeed pretty arbitrary) had been abused, he proposed that the Censors should have no Power of stigmatizing any *Senators*, who were not previously impeached, and condemned by their own Body. He next carried through a Law which abolished the *Ælian* and the *Fufian* Laws, by taking from the *Augurs*, who were generally on the Side of the *Senate*, the Liberty of putting a Stop to all Business before the People, under Pretence of their making Observations on the Heavens.

I shall not enter here upon any Controversy, whether the Government of *Rome*, which *Cicero* so warmly supported, was at this Time, any better than a Faction against the People, whether this does not, from the Confession of *Cicero* and other Authors, who were Friends to that Government, appear plainly to have been the Case, and whether the Measures, proposed by *Clodius*, were not, in themselves (for I speak not either of their Motives or Consequences) both just and constitutional. Be that as it will, *Cicero* either could not, or would not, make any effectual Opposition to those Measures, which rendered *Clodius* excessively popular with the Commons. Even the wisest of the Senatorial Party thought, that the Laws of *Clodius* spoke so strongly for themselves, that they were not to be opposed, and of this Number was *Atticus*, *Hortensius*, and even *Cato*. But our Author, who at this Time, when he speaks of the Constitution, the Laws and Liberties of his Country, has no other Meaning, but his own Person, was conscious, that the Popularity of *Clodius*, pointed at his Destruction, though he was forced to acquiesce. The next Measure of *Clodius* was to bring
in

changing our Garments and supplicating the People,

in a Bill against all Persons, "who should cause a *Roman* Citizen to be put to Death, without his being previously condemned by the People." There was a strong Current of Law and Practice in the *Roman* Constitution to support this Bill, and indeed I think the Necessity of the Juncture is the best Defence that can be made for *Cicero*, for putting the Conspirators of *Catiline* to death in the Manner he did.

This Bill of *Clodius*, however, alarmed the *Senate*, because *Cicero* had acted by their Decree, and in Terms of the *Julian* Law, which subjects Traitors to death. Even *Cæsar* was against any particular Application of this Bill, and was for letting it rest upon its own Bottom without any Retrospect, and had it continued so, the People gained a great Point against the *Senate*. But *Cicero*'s Fears precipitated him so much, that he made an Application of this Law to himself, before *Clodius* did it; for he and his Friends put on Mourning as if he had been already formally impeached, and went about abjectly soliciting the Citizens for their Interest. This Imprudence put it out of *Cæsar*'s and *Pompey*'s Power either to save or to serve *Cicero*; and as neither of the Consuls, *Gabinus* and *Piso*, were his Friends, he could find no Branch of the executive Power of Government that would interpose in his Behalf. I shall not take up the Reader's Time with what followed, previous to the Banishment of *Cicero*, who now lost all Spirit. *Clodius* proceeded against him in the most furious Manner. *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, and *Craſſus* were at best cold and indifferent, and were only afraid lest *Clodius* should push his popular Excesses farther than was consistent with the Views they had prescribed to themselves. The Friends of *Cicero* were divided, and there was now no Medium between *Cicero* standing his Ground, and thereby hazarding a cruel civil War, with a general Massacre of the *Senate*, and his retiring from the Storm. He wisely, I think, followed the latter Course, and *Clodius* then brought up a Bill, against him, to the People, in the following Words.

"For as much as *Cicero* did cause several *Roman* Citizens
 "to be put to death without an Ordinance of the People,
 "and without any Form of Justice, and did, for that End,
 "produce false and spurious *Senatus Consulta*, or Orders of the
 "*Senate*, may it please you to ordain, and be it ordained accordingly,
 "that he has been forbidden the Use of Fire and
 "Water; that it may not be lawful, for any Person whatsoever,
 "to give him Harbour or Shelter; that if any body
 "presumes so to do, it may be lawful to kill both *Cicero*, and
 "the Person with whom he shall be found; that no Body shall
 "have Liberty to propose, to the *Senate*, to have him recalled;
 "that

ple, it was a pernicious Step, unless they had first begun to point at me by Name. But I omit what is past, for this Reason; that if any Thing is in Agitation for me, you may not however be uneasy at that Law, which contains many public Benefits.

“ that if any Body shall act contrary to this Prohibition, no
 “ Member of that House may give his Opinion by Word of
 “ Mouth or otherwise, upon the Proposition that shall be made,
 “ nor subscribe to any Thing that may be resolved upon in his
 “ Favour, till those Persons, that he put to Death, are re-
 “ turned from the other World.”

This brings me to consider the Sense of the Original in this Passage, which is, I think, as important and as perplexed as any Thing in our Author's Works. *Orig. Quod te cum Culeone scribis de privilegio locutum, est aliquid; sed multo est melius abrogari. Si enim nemo impedit, quid est firmitus? Sin erit, qui ferri non sinat; idem Senatus consulto intercedat. Nec quicquam aliud opus est, quam abrogari. Nam prior Lex nos nihil ladebat. Quam si, ut est promulgata, laudare voluissimus, aut, ut erat negligenda, negligere; nocere omnino nobis non potuisset.*

Monsieur Mongault is of Opinion, that the *Privilegium*, here spoken of, is to be applied to the Law of Clodius, which Culeo, and Cicero's other Friends, thought invalid, because, says he, all *Privilegia*, or Laws pointing to private Persons, are forbidden by the twelve Tables, and the Law, which we have recited, was no other than a *Privilegium*. Monsieur Morabin, the excellent Author of the History of Cicero's Banishment, has not explained himself upon this Head, though he seems to lean towards the Sense of Mongault. But neither of them have taken Notice of the Commentary of the learned Manutius, who supposes, that a *Privilegium*, in favour of Cicero, might have been brought before the People by Way of Bill, provided it took its Rise from a Resolution of the Senate. He therefore supposes Culeo to have proposed to Atticus the bringing in such a Bill. I have translated the whole Passage, in the Manner, I thought most agreeable to Cicero's Meaning, and the Practice of Antiquity; and indeed Cicero seems to have judged Right, in wishing to have the particular Law, pointing at him, repealed, and to make a Compliment to Cæsar, and the Enemies of the Senate, in suffering the former general Law to stand.

(1) There is a great Peculiarity in the Original here, which I have copied in the Translation. *Orig. Hic mihi primum meum consilium defuit, sed etiam obsuit.*

It is however foolish in me to give you Directions as to what you are to do, or in what Manner you are to act, I only wish somewhat were done; in this respect, your Letters conceal a great deal from me, fearing, I suppose, that I may be driven to some more violent Despair. For what do you see can be done, or in what Manner, through the Senate? Remember that you yourself wrote me Word, that *Clodius* had fixed up, in the Portico of the Senate-house, that Article of the *Clodian-Law*, that neither Motion, nor Mention, should be made of my Return. In what Manner therefore did *Domitius* propose to make the Motion? What a fullen Silence did *Clodius* keep to those Persons, who, as you mention, both talked of the Affair, and demanded that the Motion should be made? Is the Measure to be carried through by the Commons? How can that be, unless all the Tribunes are unanimous for it? Can I be restored to my Estate? Can I return to my House? If I cannot, how can I be said to return to *Rome*? Unless you take care that those Difficulties are removed, what are the Hopes to which you invite me? If Hope is gone, what Life remains for me? I therefore wait at *Thessalonica*, for the Proceedings of *August* the 1st, which will determine me either to go to *Cyzicum*, or to fly towards your Estate, where I can avoid the Sight of those I hate, and where, as you write me Word, I shall see you, and be nearer at hand should any Measures be taken. At the same Time, I understand, that both you, and my Brother, are pleased with this Proposal.

Now, my *Pomponius*, as you did not, in my Hour of Danger, exert your Wisdom, either be-
M cause

cause you had too good an Opinion of mine, or because you thought you acquitted yourself of all you owe to me, if you gave me your Attendance ; since I say, after being betrayed, deluded, and trapped, I have neglected all the Means of my Safety ; since I have abandoned and forsaken all the People of *Italy*, who rose for my Sake and to defend me ; since I have delivered up myself to my Enemies, while you stood by a silent Spectator, under fewer Apprehensions, if not possessed of more Wisdom, than I ; as this is my most melancholy Situation, do what you can to raise the Prostrate, and, in so doing, you assist me. But if all the Avenues of Safety are shut up, do me the Favour to let me know the Truth, and cease, at last, to cut me with your Reproach, or to sooth me with your Comfort. Never would I have trusted myself under your Roof, as my chief Refuge, had I a doubt of your Honour ; I have only but my own Madness to accuse in thinking you loved me as well as I was fond to believe you did. Had that been the Case, your Friendship would have been the same, but your Application greater. You doubtless would have stopped me when rushing to ruin, and would have spared yourself the Toils you now undergo in this Shipwreck of my Fortunes. Therefore write me all Things as they are, clearly and knowingly. Continue to permit me to be of some Consequence, though I cannot be of that Importance I lost, while I might have improved it, and look upon this Letter to come from me not as accusing you but myself. If you think it proper to write to any Persons in my Name, I beg that you would do it, and take

take care that the Letters be delivered. Dated the 19th of August.

E P I S T. XVI.

Nothing but waiting for your Letters, concerning what passed on the 1st of August, keeps me undetermin'd as to the whole of my Journey. If they give me any Encouragement, I will set out for *Epirus*, if not, for *Cyzicum*, or follow some other Course. But the oftener I peruse your Letters, my Hopes become the fainter; because, upon considering them, they weaken all the Encouragement they suggest; and it is easy to perceive, that you want to soothe, without deceiving, me. I therefore entreat you to represent Matters to me as they really are, and your own Sentiments as they really occur to yourself. Dated the 21st of August.

E P I S T. XVII.

I HAVE received several melancholy, but concurring, Accounts concerning my Brother *Quintus*, from the 5th of June to the last of August, when *Livineius* (1), the Freedman of *Marcus Regulus* (2), came to me from his Patron. He told me there was no Mention of any Thing, but that some Reports ran concerning the Son of *Caius Clo-*

(1) His Name was *Lucius Livineius Trypho*, and he did our Author particular Services during his Exile.

(2) *Marcus Livineius Regulus* was *Quæstor* next Year, and *Tribune* in the Year of Rome 701. He afterwards served in the civil War under *Cæsar*, as *Proquæstor*.

dius (1), and, at the same Time, he brought me Letters from my Brother. But, next Day, the Slaves of *Sestius* (2) came with Letters from you, which were not in that fearless Strain, in which *Livineius* talked. It is no wonder, if amidst my terrible Oppressions, I am anxious, and the rather because the Trial is within the Department of *Appius*.

You write me, by the same Conveyance, an Account of what I am to hope for; but, that, I perceive, is more faint than what I am encouraged to by others. For my own Part, as the Time for deciding the Matter cannot be far off, I will either repair to you, or I will, as I do now, hover about these Places. My Brother writes me Word, that you are the only support of his Interests. Need I to encourage you to continue your Friendship, or shall I return you the Thanks which you look not for? All I wish is, that Fortune may put us in the way (to be safe and happy in the Enjoyment of our mutual Love and Friendship. I am always excessively impatient for your Letters, and never fear that by them your Exactness will give me Trouble, or your Sincerity, Pain. Dated the 4th of September.

(1) This young Gentleman was Nephew to *Publius Clodius*. He afterwards impeached *Milo* for his Uncle's Murder, and it was thought that, at this Time, he would have preferred an Impeachment against *Quintus*, our Author's Brother, in which *Appius*, the Brother of *Clodius*, was to be the Judge.

(2) He was designed *Tribune*, and *Cicero* afterwards pronounced an Oration in his Defence.

EPIST. XVIII.

YOU rais'd my Expectation very high, when you wrote me Word that our Friend *Varro* had given you fresh and well-grounded Assurances of *Pompey's* Undertaking my Affair, and that he would even move it in the *Senate*, as soon as he shall receive the Letters he expected from *Cæsar*. Was there nothing in this Intelligence? Were *Cæsar's* Letters unfavourable to me? Have I still any Hopes left? For you wrote me, that he assured you of the same Thing after the Election was over. By all the Woes I suffer, and by your own feeling Heart, I conjure you, make me certain as to the true and whole State of my Case. That excellent Man, that dearest Friend, my Brother *Quintus*, fills all his Letters with mighty Hopes, fearing, I suppose, that I may be too much dejected. As to your Letters they are of different Strains. They are against my entirely desponding, or my rashly Hoping. I beg that you'll give me Intelligence of every Thing that comes to your Knowledge.

EPIST. XIX.

AS long as your Letters were of a Strain that gave me some Ground of Encouragement, I was detained at *Thessalonica* by Hope and Desire. But, after I saw an End of all my Expectation of any Thing being done this Year, I declined going into *Asia*, both because I hate a Croud, and because I was unwilling to be at a Distance, if any Thing should be attempted by our new Magistrates. I have

therefore determine to come to your House in *Epirus*; not that I am invited by the Beauty of your Seat, for I am even out of Love with the Light; but it would give me an inexpressible Pleasure should I sail to Happiness from your Harbour; and, if the Port of Happiness is blocked up to me, I can, no where else with more Comfort, either endure, or, (which is much more eligible,) sling from me, this detested Load of Life. I will dismiss my Train, and come with but a few Domesticcs.

My other Correspondents have always flattered me more than you have, yet your Encouragement has never been near so faint as my own Hopes. But now, that the Thing is undertaken, let it be pursued in the same Tract in which it sets out, and be the Event what it will, never shall I disregard the wretched, and the woeful, Entreaties of an excellent and an only Brother, the Assurances of *Sestius*, and my other Friends, the Hopes of my Wife, the most dejected of Womankind, the Cries of my Daughter, the most wretched of her Sex, or your Letters that are so full of Friendship. *Epirus* will either open a Path to my Happiness, or—I need not repeat it (1). My *Pomponius*, as you see me, by the Treachery of Mankind, stripped of all that is great, of all that is dear, of all that is desirable in Life; as you are sensible that I have been betrayed, and am become an out-cast through those who advised me, and that I have been pushed on to the Ruin of myself and Family, I beg and conjure you to assist me by your Pity; to secure, to my Brother, the Means of Safety that are yet left him, and to protect my Wife and

1) Orig. *Sed quod scripsi supra,*

Children. You need not doubt of my repairing to *Rome*, if you have any Hopes of my Return, if not, come, if you can, to see me in *Epirus*, and allot me so much of your Ground, as my body can cover. In the mean while, let me hear, by your Slaves, as often and as early as you can. Dated the 16th of *September*.

E P I S T. XX.

MY *Cæcilius*, the Son of *Quintus*, *Pomponianus*, *Atticus*, I wish you Joy of your new Designation (1), and I most sincerely compliment you upon your Uncle's acting as a Man of Honour; (were it proper for a Wretch, like me, to use the Word) I would say, that I rejoice at it. Unhappy Man! yet how desireable might my Life have been, had I not been abandoned by my own Courage, my own Resolution, and the Friendship of the Men I trusted. Recollection is painful; it adds to my Dejection. But you, my Friend, I know will recollect what a Life mine was, how full of Dignity, how full of Endearment. I conjure you, by your own Fortune, to apply yourself that I may recover mine, and that I may celebrate the Birth-day of my Return, at your delightful Palace with you and my Friends. I have a Pleasure in the Thoughts of attending in your House in *Epirus*, for the Effects of the good News with which I am flattered, but, according to my Intelligence, I am more conveniently situated where I am.

(1) *Atticus* had been lately adopted by his Uncle, *Quintus Cæcilius*, and thus he assumed the Name of *Cæcilius Pomponianus*, which was as much as to say, *Cæcilius* of the Family of the *Pomponii*.

You are rightly informed as to my House and the Speech of *Curio*. If I am restored, I shall be restored in general to all my Possessions, and of those I prefer none to my House. But I recommend nothing to you particularly, I entirely rely upon your Affection and Friendship. I am extremely pleased to hear that so great a Fortune, as is fallen to you, has rid you of all Incumbrances. I am easily sensible of what Advantage it is to my Affairs, when you offer me your Purse to do me Service, and desire that, in all Cases, I will distinguish you as my Friend, by calling upon you for Assistance. I well know how great a Share you have taken in the Measures to restore me, and how very capable you are to execute them with Ability, and without being solicited for that Purpose. I will obey you, and free you from the Suspicion you hint at, when you forbid me to imagine that you ever had a Thought of any unfriendly Thing, be it Commision or Omission towards me. My Obligation in this, however, to you is heightened, because you have had a more sublime Sense of Friendship for me, than I have had for you.

I beg you will write all you see, all you know, and all that is passing, and spirit up all your Friends to do me Service. The Bill of *Seftius* (1) is too disgraceful and too dangerous, for it ought to Name me personally, and

(1) He had been trusted by *Cæsar* with a Draught of the Bill, which he was to present, in his Tribuneship, for *Cicero's* Restoration, but it was so crowded with Restrictions and Limitations, that *Cicero*, who received a Copy of it from *Atticus*, disapproved of it, and would, it seems, rather have ventured being brought in upon the Footing of a *Privilegium*, than that he should be restored in such loose general Terms.

the Mention of my Effects ought to be more particular, I beg you would take Notice of that. Dated at *Theſſalonica* the 4th of *October*.

EPIST. XXI.

THE Day on which I write this Letter is the thirtieth, ſince I had one from you. As to myſelf, I had reſumed the Reſolution, I acquainted you of before, to go to *Epirus*, and to make that my chief Reſidence till I ſhould know my Fate. I beg that you will write me in the fullſt Manner, all that you can learn, of whatever Nature it may be, and that you will, in my Name, as you mention, ſend Letters to all whom you think proper to apply to. Dated the 28th of *October*.

EPIST. XXII.

THOUGH my Brother *Quintus* and *Piſo* have been very particular in their Intelligence of all that has paſſed; yet I could have wiſhed that your Buſineſs had not prevented you from ſending me Information as uſual, of all that is paſſing, and your own Sentiments upon it. The genteel Behaviour of *Plancius* ſtill detains me here, though I have made repeated Attempts to ſet out for *Epirus*. That Gentleman has a Hope, which is very diſtant from my Thoughts, that we may ſet out together, a Circumſtance which he imagines would do him a great deal of Honour. But now that I hear Soldiers are marching this Way, I think it is high Time

Time to leave him. As soon as I take my Leave I will instantly acquaint you where I am.

I am somewhat encouraged to hope for the good Offices of *Pompey* from the Services which *Lentulus* has done me, and which he has signified both in Facts, Promises, and Writing; for you have often informed me that *Pompey* was wholly under the Direction of *Lentulus*. My Brother hath informed me that all Hopes of gaining *Metellus* must come thro' you. Do you your utmost Endeavours, my dearest *Pomponius*, that I may be once more at Liberty to live with you and my Friends; and write me all that passes. I am weighed down with Grief by the Loss of all that ever was dear to me; Farewell.

If I had gone to *Epirus*, through *Thessalia*, I must have been a long Time without receiving any Intelligence. I therefore went by the Way of *Durazzo*, because the People of that Place are my very good Friends, and I there finish this Letter which I had begun at *Thessalonica*. I will inform you when I set out from hence for your House. I beg you to write me most particularly of every Thing that occurs, be it what it will. Now is the Time that must finish my Affair, or must finish my Hopes. Dated from *Durazzo*, 26th of *November*.

E P I S T. XXIII.

THREE of your Letters came to my Hands on the 27th of *November*. In one of them, dated the 25th of *October*, you encourage me to be in good Spirits 'till the Month of *January*, and this Encouragement is founded upon the Zeal of
Lentulus

Lentulus, the Affection of *Metellus*, and the general Plan of *Pompey*. Your next Letter I read was, (a Thing not usual with you,) without a Date, but indeed it sufficiently intimates its own Date. For after the Promulgation (1) of the Law by the eight Tribunes of the Commons, you write, that you had sent off that Letter that very Day, meaning the 29th of *October*, and you inform me of all the Services, which you imagine that Promulgation has done to my Interest. But, if, even with the Advantage of this Promulgation, my Cause should be desperate, I beg, by all your Affection to me, that you will construe my idle Anxiety to be the Result of Wretchedness, rather than of Impertinence. However, if there is still any Spark of Hope, I beg you will endeavour, that I may in Time to come be better served by our Magistrates.

For that Bill of the former Tribunes contained three Articles, one, and a loosely worded one it was, was concerning my Return. Now I am restored to nothing but to my Residence in the State, and to my Rank, a Happiness, I must confess, to one in my Situation. But you are no Stranger to the other Provisions that ought to have been made, and in what Terms they should have been conceived. The other Article was a Matter of Form, I mean a Clause of Impunity, for those who should contravene other Laws by observing that Law. As to the third Article, I beg, my dearest Friend, that you

(1) *Ninnius* the Tribune, and his seven Colleagues, of their own Accord, when it was not expected from them, presented another Bill to the Senate for the recalling of our Orator, and the restoring him to all his Honour; but there was no Provision made in this for the Reparation of his Fortune.

will inform yourself with what View, and by what Person, it was inserted. You know that *Clodius* procured an Act, which rendered it next to, if not wholly impossible, either for the Senate or the People to repeal his Law. You will, however, observe that such Sorts of Acts of Guaranty against repealing Laws, are seldom observed; for indeed if they were, it would become almost impracticable to repeal any Law, for we can imagine no Law will omit fencing itself against a Repeal. But the Act of Guaranty is in fact repealed along with the Law to which it is tacked. As this is a Matter of Fact, so the Practice of it has been constant and unvariable, and our eight Tribunes of the Commons brought in this Article. "If there is any Thing in this Bill that by the Laws or the Decrees of the Commons (that is by the *Clodian* Law) is not permitted to be promulgated, repealed, or disregarded, either in whole or in Part, without Punishment to the Person who shall make such Attempts, this Law has Respect to nothing of that Kind (1)."

Now

(1) *Orig* Si quid in hac rogatione scriptum est, quod per leges, plebisque scita, Hoc est, quod per legem Clodiam promulgare, abrogare, derogare, obrogare S. F. sua non liceat, non licuerit; quod ut ei qui promulgavit, abrogavit, derogavit, obrogavit. ob eam rem parum, multumve sit E. H. L. N. R.

The Reader is here to observe a Difference between the *Leges* or the Laws, and the *plebis scita*, or the Decrees of the Commons. The former were proposed by a Prætor, a Consul, or a Dictator, to the two Orders of Patricians and Plebeians. But it was sufficient for a *plebis scitum* (which in Time came to be equally binding with a Law upon the Patricians, and both of them were called *Rogationes*) to be proposed to the Commons alone, by a Tribune. The *Abrogatio* was the Repeal of the Law, the *Derogatio* was the Repeal or Alteration of it in part, the *Obrogatio* was the reversing it, by making a Law in direct

Contra-

Now the Penalty here taken Notice of does not affect those Tribunes of the Commons; for they were not bound by their own unanimous Consent. There is therefore greater Grounds to suspect them of some malicious Intention, when they passed that which could with no Propriety serve them, and was injurious to me; so that the new Tribunes of the Commons, if they were to be intimidated, should think themselves the more obliged to insert in their Bills Clauses of the same Nature. *Clodius* has taken Care to avail himself of this; for in an Assembly of the People, on the 3d of *November*, he said, "That this Clause ought to serve as a Rule to the Conduct of the succeeding Tribunes of the People," and yet you are sensible there is no Clause of this Kind in any other Law, whereas, were it necessary, it would be inserted in all Acts of Repeal. I beg you will inform yourself how this came to escape *Ninnius* and the rest, and who brought it in; and why the eight Tribunes of the Commons did not hesitate to make a Motion for me in the Senate House. Whether they were of Opinion that no Regard was to be paid to that Article. If so, why were they so cautious in repealing it, as to be afraid of it, when actually they had broken through a Precaution that may be neglected even by those who are bound by that Law.

I am absolutely unwilling that the new Tribunes of the People should bring up such a Clause, but in whatever Shape they bring their Bill, provided it

Contradiction to it. The initial Letters S.F. are to be read *Sine Fraude*, without Punishment; for that was the Sense of the old Roman Word *Fraus*. The Initials E. H. L. N. R. are to be read *Ejus Hac Lege Nihilum Rogatur*.

is effectual, I shall be satisfied with that Clause which restores me to my Country. I have long ago thought this Letter too long, I am even afraid that, before it comes to your Hand, my Condition will be desperate, and thus, all the Pains I have been at will only serve to give you Misery, and to make others merry. But if you still have any Hopes, consult the Law which *Visellius* (1) drew up for *Titus Fadius*, for I think it a good one; though I cannot say the same of that drawn up by our Friend *Sextius*, and which you seem to approve of.

Your third Letter is dated the 12th of *November*; there, you lay before me, with great Abilities and Accuracy, all the Incidents from *Crassus*, *Pompey* and others, that bid fair to retard my Return. I therefore intreat you, that, if you have any Hope of Success from the Zeal and Authority of Patriots, or even from Force of Arms, endeavour by all Means to carry it through by one vigorous Charge (2). Follow this Measure with Spirit, and arouse the rest of my Friends to join you. But if (as I see you hint, and I have always feared) my Hopes are at an End; I beg and conjure you to love my Brother *Quintus*, that Brother whom my Miseries have made miserable. Suffer him not to sink into greater Despondency than is inconsistent with the Interests of your Sister's Son. Do your utmost to protect my *Cicero*, my wretched Infant, to whom I can bequeath no other Legacy than the Destruction and Ignominy of his Father's Name. Let your Kindness support my Wife *Terentia*, the most distressed of Womenkind.

(1) He was the same with *Culeo*, we mentioned before.

(2) *Cicero* it seems, thought it lawful to make use of Arms to restore himself.

to ATTICUS.

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As soon as I know the Transactions of the first Days of the Election of the Tribunes, I will set out for *Epirus*. I beg you will write me Word in your next Letters of what passes after they are entered upon the Exercise of their Office. Dated the last of *November*.

E P I S T. XXIV.

WHEN in a former Letter you wrote me that the Appointments for the consular Provinces had been made by your Consent, though I was afraid of bad Consequences from those Appointments, yet still I was in hopes that you had your own Reasons of Weight for what you was doing. But when I afterwards understood, both from what was told, and what was wrote, me, that your Conduct was highly blamed, I was greatly startled (1); because it seemed to extinguish the faint

(1) There seems to have been a Piece of secret Management in this Part of our Author's History, which we are at a Loss, at this Day, to clear up; for *Atticus* thought it so improper to commit it to Writing; that he took a Journey to *Cicero* in Person to give him an Account of his Conduct on this Occasion. The Measure, however, that *Cicero* blames here is, at first Sight, pretty unaccountable. *Cicero's* great Dependance now was upon the Conduct of the new Tribunes of the People, eight of whom were heartily in his Interests; and it was a great Point for him that they should have it in their Power to make Terms with the Consuls elect, upon the Alotment of their Provinces, which was entirely at the Option of the Tribunes. But the latter were deprived of an Opportunity of making such Terms by the Forwardness of the Senators, who to oblige *Lentulus* and *Metellus Nepos*, the Consuls elect, had, contrary to all Precedents, given them their Choice of their Appointments and Provinces, before they entered upon the actual Exercise of their Functions, by which, at first Sight, *Cicero* seemed to lose a capital Advantage.

Glimmering

Glimmering of Hope that was still left us. For if the Tribunes of the Commons are made our Enemies, what can we farther hope for? They surely have no Reason to be my Friends, as my Agents have acted so void of Foresight, and as, by my Concession, they have lost all the Weight which they might otherwise have had in this Affair; especially, as they say, that it was my Interest alone that made them wish for an Influence in the consular Appointments, not that they wanted to retard them, but that they might have made the Consuls my Friends; whereas if the Consuls should now oppose me, they can do it with a better Check upon their Conduct; but that they cannot befriend me without the Concurrence of the Tribunes. You write me, that, supposing I had refused my Consent, the Consuls would have gained their Point with the People. But let me ask you, could they have prevailed with the People against the Interposition of the Tribunes? Upon the whole, I am afraid that we have forfeited the Friendship of the Tribunes, or if we have still their Friendship, that the Connection, between them and the Consuls, so necessary for our Interest is broken.

I can see another great Inconveniency in this, that we have forfeited, as I am very well informed, all the Force of the important Decree made by the Senate "that they would go upon no Business before "they had finished my Affair," and what makes this the worse is, that the Measure (1) was not only in itself unnecessary but unprecedented and unusual. Never, I believe, till now were the Appointments of the Provinces of designed Consuls, regulated; so that, as they have receded from that Resolution,

(1) *Viz.* Of the consular Appointments.

which

which they came to on my Account, it is hard to say what other Decrees they may pass.

I am at a Loss to account for the Motives that induced my Friends and Agents to be for this Measure. Few Persons can be supposed to be fond of openly flying in the Face of the visible Interests of two Consuls. It was a Point of great Difficulty to stand out against *Lentulus*, who was amongst the best of my Friends, or *Metellus*, who had with great Humanity, laid aside his Resentment towards me. But I am terribly apprehensive that we cannot keep, in our Interests, both the Consuls and the Tribunes. Write to me, as you have proposed, upon this Matter, and how the whole of it stands, for though the Truth may not be palatable, yet I shall take it kindly from you. Dated *December the 10th*.

E P I S T. XXV.

AFTER your Departure, I received your Letters from *Rome*, by which I perceive that I must linger out my Life under this Load of Wretchedness. Be not offended at what I say. But had there been the smallest Hope of my Preservation, you would not, loving me as you do, have left *Rome* (1), at this Juncture. But lest I should be reproached with Ingratitude, or with Madness in wishing all to be involved in my Calamity, I will say no more. I beg of you that you'll perform your Promise in seeing me, wherever I may be, before *January*.

(1) There is some Reason for believing from this Passage that this Letter is misplaced by Editors.

EPIST. XXVI.

FROM your Letters, and the Situation of the Thing itself, I perceive that I am compleatly ruined, I beg that in all Matters in which my Family may want your Assistance, that you will not leave us to Misery, I expect to see you as soon as you promise.

EPIST. XXVII.

I HAVE received Letters from my Brother *Quintus* with the Senate's Decree concerning me (1). I have some Thoughts of waiting till the Law is passed; but if it should be delayed I will lay hold of the registered Sense (2) of the Senate, and

(1) I have. contrary to all Editions of those Epistles, made this the last Letter in this Book, because the *Senatus consultum* mentioned here, could be no other than that *Senatus consultum* which imported, "that the Consuls should send circular Letters" throughout all *Italy* to invite all the Freemen, that were well "affected to the Commonwealth and desired its Preservation, to repair immediately to *Rome*." It is true, the Date which is affixed to this Letter, *viz.* the 24th of *December*, does not agree with the Day upon which the *Senatus consultum* passed, which was not till some Months after. But then it is as true, that only one Edition of those Letters, that of *Victorius*, gives any Date at all to this Letter.

(2) *Orig. Utar auctoritate Senatus.* There is one Circumstance which has been neglected by most Commentators and Translators and which, if not attended to, will create inexpressible Difficulties in reading our Author's Works, and indeed those of any other Classic. The Distinction I mean is that between a *Senatus consultum* and the *Auctoritas Senatus*. The *Senatus consultum* was no other than a Resolution agreed to by the House, without receiving any Negative that could defeat its Purpose. But in the senatorial Language, *Auctoritas* was a very different Thing from what we call Authority in *English*. For it was a *Senatus consultum*

and resign my Life rather than my Country. I beg
you will make haste to find me out. Farewell.

consultum rendered abortive and ineffectual, by the interposing
Negative of one or more Tribunes. However, notwithstanding
such a Negative, the Motion, or rather Resolution, was
regularly entered upon the Registers or Journals of the House,
and thereupon was called the *Auctoritas Senatus*, or the registered
Sense of the Senate. Now the *Auctoritas* mentioned here by
our Author, was that which was registered upon the 1st of *January*
for his Return.





C I C E R O's
E P I S T L E S
T O
A T T I C U S.

BOOK IV.

EPIST. I.

 S soon as I came to *Rome*, and found out a sure Hand with whom I could trust a Letter to you, I thought my first Business was (as you was not at *Rome*) to wish you Joy of my Return. For, shall I tell you the Truth, I knew by Experience that in giving me Advice, you was neither braver nor wiser than myself; and, considering my past Attachment to you, not over anxious about my Welfare and Preservation. But I knew at the same time that you, who, in the Beginning of my Misconduct, or rather Phrenzy, was my Partner and Companion in it, and in all my chimerical Fears, bore, with great Bitterness of Spirit, my Absence, and exerted all your Endeavours,
your

your Zeal, your Application and Labour, to accomplish my Return to *Rome*. I shall therefore be believed when I tell you, that one Thing was wanting to compleat the mighty Joy, and to crown my glorious Welcome, I mean that you should bless my Eyes, or rather my Arms. Never, (should I once lay hold of you,) will I suffer you to leave me, and I shall think Fortune, by restoring me, has been more kind than I deserve, unless I make myself amends for all the past Loss I have suffered of your most agreeable Company.

With Regard to my Situation, at present, I have regained my Figure at the Bar, my Dignity in the Senate-House, and that Friendship of the worthy, which always has been my Ambition, and all in a greater Degree⁽¹⁾ than I possessed before my Banishment, and with less Difficulty than I imagined. As to my private Affairs, I meet with inexpressible Opposition, and you know how they have been ruined, squandered, and plundered. I stand not so much in need of your Purse, which I look upon to be the same as my own, as your Counsels, with regard to the repairing and resettling the Wrecks of my Fortune. At present, though I suppose you have been informed of all, either by Letters from your Friends, or by common Report and Messengers, yet I will give you a short

(1) It is no unusual Thing in Life, especially public Life, for those who opposed a Measure when the Success of it was doubtful, to push it on extravagantly, when it is more than probable that it will be carried. *Charles II.* upon his Return to *England*, could not imagine where the People were, who had kept him out so long. This was a very natural Sentiment, and agreeable to what is several Times expressed by our Author upon the like Occasion.

Account, of what I imagine you are most desirous to know, under my own Hand.

I left *Durazzo* on the 4th of *August*, being the Day on which the Decree for my Return was published. On the 5th I came to *Brundisium*, where I met my *Tulliola*, who kept her Birth-Day with me, it being the same with the Anniversary of the *Brundisian* Colony, and of the Dedication of the Temple of public Welfare. The People no sooner got hold of this Circumstance, than all *Brundisium* rung with Acclamations and Compliments. While I was at *Brundisium*, on the 8th of the same Month, I understood, by Letters from my Brother *Quintus*, that the Decree for repealing my Banishment, had passed the Assembly of the Centuries, to the incredible Satisfaction of all Ranks and Ages, and with an unprecedented Concourse from all *Italy*. Having received the highest Civilities from all Men of Distinction at *Brundisium*, I set out from thence and received, in my Journey, the Compliments of the Deputies, who flocked from all Quarters. When I drew near to *Rome*, there was not a Person in that City, be his Rank what it will, whose Name was known to a *Nomenclator* (1), who did not come out to meet me, excepting those Enemies who had gone so far to ruin me, that they were not at Liberty either to dissemble, or to deny, their Rancour. When I came to the *Capenian* Gate, the Stairs of the Temples were crowded with the lower Ranks of People, who intimated their Joy for my Return by Peals of

(1) This was a very useful Officer in *Rome*. His Usefulness consisted in his knowing by Sight, and being able to name, all the principal Men of the State, and for this Purpose he attended the Candidates for public Offices.

Applause ;

Applause ; nor did they leave off following me with Acclamations, till I reached the Capitol, and wonderful it was, to behold the Crowds which filled the Forum, and the Capitol itself. Next Day, which was the 5th of *September*, I delivered my Oration of Thanks to the Senate in the House.

For two Days there had been a great Scarcity of Provisions at *Rome*, and the Mob, by the Instigation of *Clodius*, had run first to the Theatre, and then to the Senate-House, crying out that it was through me the Scarcity had happened (1). The Senators were then sitting upon this very Affair, and *Pompey* was called upon to take the Care of it by the Voice, not only of the Commons, but of the Men of Property. This was what he himself wanted, and the Mob called out upon me, by Name, to make the Motion. I made it, and laid down my Opinion with great Clearness, while all the other Consulars, excepting *Messala* and *Afranius*, were absent, upon Pretence that they could not deliver their Opinion at once with Safety and with Freedom. The Senate, upon my Motion, came to a Resolution, that *Pompey* should be treated with to take that Commission upon himself, and that a Bill should be brought in for that Purpose. While this Resolution was reading, at every

(1) There is something very unaccountable in all the Relations we have of *Clodius* and our Author. If we are to believe the latter, there never was a Measure so compleatly to the Satisfaction of all Ranks of Mankind, as his Return to *Rome* was, and yet in less than six and thirty Hours we find his capital Enemy at the Head of a Party, which, without any visible, or at least reasonable Provocation, puts him in Danger of his Life.

Mention of my Name, there was a Shout of that insipid, fantastic, Applause, which is now in vogue; I then delivered a Speech to the People, with the Leave of all the Magistrates, excepting one Prætor and two Tribunes of the Commons. Next Day there was a full Senate, and all the Consulars refused to *Pompey* nothing that he asked for. When he had obtained the fifteen Deputies he demanded, he named me the first, and he declared, that in all his Proceedings I should be his other self.

The Consuls engrossed the Bill, by which *Pompey*, for five Years, received full Powers with Regard to Provisions all over the World. *Messius* engrossed another Bill, which gave him a Power of disposing of all Monies, with a Fleet and an Army, and a greater Command over the Provinces than the Governors have to whom they are allotted. Our consular Law appears to be modest, when compared to this intolerable one of *Messius*. *Pompey* says, that the first was at his own Desire, but the latter the Work of his Friends. The Consulars make a Noise, and that of *Favonius* is greater than all (1). For my Part, I am silent, and the rather, because the Pontiffs have not as yet given in their Answer concerning my House. Should they be of Opinion, that the Consecration of it is invalid, I shall have a noble Spot. The Consuls, according to the Resolution of the Senate, will either make an Estimate of the Building that has been thrown down, or they will demolish what is raised, build a new one at their

(1) *Orig. Consulares, duce Favonio, fremunt.* *Favonius* was not a Consular, and therefore the Meaning of this Passage must be as I have translated it.

own Expence, and make an Estimate of all my other Effects (1).

You have now the State of my private Affairs, which, compared with my Prosperity, are but indifferent, if with my Adversity, happy. You know that I am extremely uneasy in my private Circum-

(1) *Cicero* gives us no very advantageous Idea of his Firmness upon this Occasion. It is extremely plain that he was so much disgusted with the Conduct of the *Roman* Patriots at this Time; that, contrary to his private Sentiments, he had left their Party, and it was owing only to *Pompey's* Moderation, that the Power, which *Cicero* had been so instrumental in giving him, was not fatal to his Country. It is certain, that all the Men of Consequence or Virtue thought it might prove so, and *Cicero* was of the same Opinion himself. But our Author's Experience had taught him other Things than to rely any longer upon the Merit of a showy Conduct. He now attached himself to Power. But indeed he had a great deal at stake, being no better than an illustrious Beggar, and he was not sure whether he could be restored to his Possessions or not. *Clodius*, to bar him from ever recovering his House in Town, had not only demolished it, but had procured the Ground on which it stood to be consecrated, by which it became Sacrilege to make it revert to a private Proprietor. But as some Doubts arose concerning the Validity of this Consecration, the Case was referred to the Pontiffs.

The College of Pontiffs in *Rome*, at this Time, consisted of fifteen, and the Exercise of their Judgment, in religious Things, was so extensive, that they entered upon many civil Causes. They even had a coercive Power of Judgment, and could impose Fines and Punishments. But the Reader is not to imagine, that this pontifical College, as to its Institution, had any thing in common with the modern religious Policy that prevails in *Italy* and in *Roman* Catholic Countries. It is true, the Jurisdiction of civil and religious Matters, was separate, but the Persons who exercised those Jurisdictions were the same, and the *Romans* had no Notion that there was any Peculiarity of Character required to constitute a Pontiff. They thought that a Person who filled the civil Offices of his Country with the greatest Abilities, was the best fitted to discharge the religious ones. This Maxim is the very reverse of the Policy that has been since practised, (and in no Country more than *England*,) where the Qualifications of a Priest have often been his Passport to the highest Dignities in the State.

stances,

stances, and I have some Family-Crosses, which I cannot trust to writing. I have a due Regard and Love for my Brother *Quintus*, as being one of the most worthy, virtuous, and honest Men in the World. I expect and entreat that you will hasten your Journey hitherwards, and come so prepared as not to suffer me to be without your Advice. I am now laying down a new Plan of Life; some Persons (1) who befriended me in my Exile, now that I am returned, begin secretly to hate me, and openly to envy me. I am extremely desirous to see you.

E P I S T. II.

IF I write to you more seldom than your other Correspondents do, I beg that you will not attribute it to my Remissness, or even to my Hurry of Business, which, though great, shall never interrupt the Course of our Affection and my Duty. For now that I am come to *Rome*, I am more certain of a safe Conveyance of my Letters to you. This therefore is my second Letter from this.

In my former, I have acquainted you with the Manner of my Return, with my Situation, and with all Things as they stood, which, as I told you, “if compared with my Prosperity, are but indifferent, if with my Adversity, happy.” After that Letter was dispatched, there was a terrible Dispute concerning my House. I spoke before the Pontiffs

(1) The Truth is, it was not so much from personal Regard that the wisest Men of *Rome* befriended *Cicero*, as from a conviction that it was necessary to make his Return a kind of a Trial of Strength between the Faction of *Clodius*, and that of the Senate; for both of them were equally factious at this Time against the Constitution of *Rome*.

on the last of *September*. My pleading was, a high-finished Piece. For if ever I distinguished myself in speaking, if ever I made a Figure on other Occasions, give me leave to say, that my Grief, and the Interest I had at Stake, gave my Words, at that Time, a peculiar Energy. Our young Men therefore ought not to be without this Speech, I will send it to you soon, though perhaps you may not desire to see it.

When the Pontiffs had decreed, that if the Person, who said he had consecrated my House, did it neither by the Command of the People, nor by a Decree of the Commons, nor was nominated to that Commission by the Command of the People (1), nor by a Decree of the Commons, their Opinion was, "that that Part of the Ground might be restored to me without Sacrilege," I immediately received Compliments of Congratulation. For none made a Question, that this Opinion put me again in Possession of my House. *Clodius* then, having leave from his Brother *Appius*, instantly mounted the Tribunal, and spoke to the People. He told them, that the Opinion of the Pontiffs was in his Favour, and that I was endeavouring to re-enter into Possession by Force. He exhorted them to follow him and his Brother *Appius*, to defend their own Liberty. Here, when even the lowest amongst the People were either confounded or diverted with the Impudence of the Fellow, I resolved not to approach the Place, until the Consuls, according to the Reso-

(1) As the Verdict of the Pontiffs appears plainly to have been special, where was the Absurdity of *Clodius* in laying hold of that Speciality, and maintaining, that the Consecrator was properly authorised by the Commons?

lution of the Senate, had contracted with Architects to re-edify the Portico of *Catulus*.

On the 1st of *October*, the Senate was very full, all the Pontiffs, who were Senators, being summoned. *Marcellinus*, who is very much my Friend, and whose Opinion was first asked, demanded of them what was the Result of their Report. Then *Marcus Lucullus*, speaking the Opinion of all his Colleagues, said, " that the Pontiffs were the Judges of the Religious, but the Senate of the legal, Consideration. " That he, and his Colleagues, had already come " to a Determination with regard to Religion, and " that the Senate must do the same with Regard to " Law." Every one of the other Members, whose Opinion was asked in their several Turns, spoke greatly in my Favour. When it came to the Turn of *Clodius*, he endeavoured to take up the whole Remainder of their Time, nor indeed would he ever have come to an End, had not the Indignation, and the Noise of the House, forced him at last to finish, after speaking almost three Hours.

When the Senate was come to a Resolution, according to the Sense of *Marcellinus*, with but one negative Voice in the whole House, *Serranus* interposed. The two Consuls immediately began to concert Measures to remove this Interposition, and when the Men of greatest Weight gave it as their Opinion, that the Resolution of the Senate was to restore to me my House, to contract for rebuilding the Portico of *Catulus*, to require all the Magistrates to maintain what had been the Opinion of the Senate, and that if the Peace was broken, the Senate would lay it at the Door of the Person, who had interposed, *Serranus* was startled, and *Cornicinus* entered upon his
old

old Farce, by throwing off his Robe, and then casting himself at the Feet of his Son-in-Law, who demanded that Night to deliberate, but it was not granted him ; for the House well remembered what had happened on the 1st of *January* ; at last, however, when I consented to this Request, it was granted him with Difficulty.

Next Day the Senate passed the Resolution, which I send to you. The Consuls then treated about restoring the Portico of *Catulus*, and Undertakers were immediately found, who, to the great Pleasure of every Body, demolished that of *Clodius*. The Consuls, after proper Deliberation, estimated my House at 16500 *l*. But they undervalued all the rest of my Estate ; they allowed me only 4160 *l*. for my House at *Tusculum*, and no more than 2080 for that of *Formiæ*, and not only Men of Quality, but even the Mob itself, find great Fault with those Estimates. You will ask me from whence all this proceeded. Why really some People impute it to my Modesty, for I neither refused to accept what was offered, nor did I struggle to obtain more. But this was not the Case, for Moderation would rather have done me Service than otherwise. But, my dearest Friend, those Persons to whom you are no Stranger, those very Persons, I say, who clipped my Wings, are unwilling that they should grow again. Yet I am in hopes, that they are growing every Day. I beg once more that you'll immediately come to me, which, I am afraid, if you are intercepted by our Friend *Varro*, will not be so soon as I could wish.

Having thus laid before you the Matters of Fact as they passed, I am now to acquaint you with the
rest

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rest of my Plan. I have accepted of *Pompey's* Deputation, but upon such Terms as that I may be at Liberty to stand for the Office of Censor, if the ensuing Consuls should proceed to an Election of Censors, or to execute a votive Legation through almost all the Temples, and consecrated Groves in *Italy*. I have my own Reasons for this. My main View is, that it shall be in my Power, either to stand for the Censorship, or to leave *Rome* the Beginning of the Summer. In the mean while, I think it is not amiss if I give my Company to such of my Countrymen as have laid me under the greatest Obligations.

You have now before you the Plan of my public Conduct. As to my private Concerns, they are extremely embarrassed. You know how expensive the Re-building my House at *Rome* is, and what Difficulties I am put to in repairing my House at *Formiæ*. Those, in short, are two Works, which I can neither abandon nor accomplish. As to my House at *Tusculum*, I have advertised it for Sale⁽¹⁾, but I cannot conveniently be without a Seat in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. The Measure which brought me nothing in Return but Disgrace, has quite exhausted the Generosity of my Friends. They express the same Kindness for me, now that I am present, as you did when I was absent, and were their Zeal and Interest seconded by those who contributed most to my Return, I might easily succeed in every Thing; whereas now I am put to excessive Difficulties. My other Troubles are of a

(1) *Orig. Proscripti*. These Sort of *Proscriptiones* differed very little from our Advertisements, especially those which are posted in the most public Parts of the City.

more

more secret Nature (1) ; but I have the Affections of my Brother and Daughter. I am extremely impatient for your Company.

E P I S T. III.

I AM quite persuaded that you long to know what is doing here, but more particularly to have my Story from myself ; not that what I write or tell you, can give you any more certain Information as to Facts that are publicly transacted ; but my Letters will give you a clearer Idea in what Manner I bear those Incidents, and of my Sense of the present Juncture, and, in short, of my present Situation.

On the 3d of *November*, the Workmen were driven from my Building by armed Men, and the Portico of *Catulus*, which, according to the Resolution of the Senate, was repairing by the Appointment of the Consuls, and wanted little more than to be roofed, was demolished. The House of my Brother *Quintus*, at first, was battered with Stones, flung from my Building, and then set on Fire, by the Order of *Clodius*, and by throwing flaming Brands upon it in the Face of all *Rome*, to the great Discomfort and Grief, I will not say of our Patriots, for I know of no Patriots we have, but of all Mankind in general. As to *Clodius* himself, he bore down all before him, and after he had given Vent to his Fury, he breathed nothing but Blood and Vengeance against his Enemies. He then went from Street to Street, openly encouraging Slaves to hope for Liberty.

Before this Time, when he declined his Trial, his Plea was indeed self-evidently bad, but he still had

(1) *Orig. μυστικώτατον. Magis Arcana.*

a Plea. He could deny some Charges, he could shuffle off others, and others he might even defend in Point of Law. But after his demolishing, burning, and plundering in this Manner, he is abandoned by his Followers, and it is with Difficulty that he still keeps about him the Marshal *Decimus*, and *Gellius*; he has now no Counsellors but Slaves, and he is sensible that his Cause should he ever come to a Trial, would not be one whit more desperate than it is at present, should he openly cut the Throats of all whom he hates.

It was from this Conviction that he followed me with his Ruffians on the 11th of *November*, and as I was coming down the holy Street, I was suddenly and unexpectedly beset with Shouts, Stones, Bludgeons, and Swords. To save myself, I retired to the Court-yard of *Tertius Damio*, while my Retinue easily prevented him from breaking in upon me, and they could have killed *Clodius* himself. But I am tired of Corrosives, and begin to be in love with Palliatives (1). When *Clodius* heard the People unanimously call out not to bring him to a Trial, but to drag him to Execution, you would have thought him inspired with the Spirit of a thousand *Catilines*, a thousand *Acidini*. For on the 12th of *November* he made so brisk an Attack to storm and burn down *Milo's* House upon Mount *Germalus*, that he openly headed a Body of Men, compleatly armed, with Bucklers and naked Swords, who continued the Attack till night, while others endeavoured to burn it down with flaming Brands. All this while, *Clodius* took Post at the House of *Publius Sylla*, as the

(1) *Orig. Sed Ego diata curari incipio. Chirurgiæ tædet.*

most convenient Post for carrying on his Storm. Some Time after *Quintus Flaccus* sallied out from *Milo's Annian* House with a resolute Body of Men, and put to the Sword the most noted Ring-leaders of all the Ruffian Gang of *Clodius*. He aimed at *Clodius* himself, but he kept within Doors.

November the 14th *Sylla* appeared in the Senate, *Clodius* kept at Home. *Marcellinus* distinguished himself in the general and keen Resentment of the House. *Metellus* spun out the Time in making Speeches. In this he was assisted by *Appius*, and who do you think seconded them but your very good Friend (1) whom you have, with so much Truth, recommended in your Letters for his Firmness and Virtue. *Sestius* spoke with Passion; *Clodius* continued his Threatenings against the City, if the Assembly was not held for the Election of his Ediles. At last, *Marcellinus* presented a Resolution in Writing for making but one Question of all my Case; that it should comprehend whatever related to my House, to the Burning, and my personal Danger, and that it should be determined before the Assembly was held for the Election, and *Milo* gave public Notice that he would observe the Heavens on every Day appointed for the Election.

The Harangues of *Metellus* were tumultuous, those of *Appius* were presumptuous, those of *Clodius* were furious, to the last Degree. The Result, however, of all, was a Resolution to hold the Assembly for the Election on the 20th of *November*, and it would have been held, had not *Milo* made his Declaration as to the Auspices. In the Middle of the Night, *Milo* repaired to the Place of Election

(1) Probably *Hortensius*.

with a strong Body of Men, nor durst *Clodius* appear there, though he was at the Head of a chosen Troop of fugitive Slaves. *Milo* remained on the Field till Noon, which gave infinite Satisfaction to the Public, and great Glory to himself. In short, the Triumvirate of Brothers (1) made a shameful Opposition, their Strength was broken, and their Fury contemptible. *Metellus*, however, demanded that the Declaration should be made to him next Day in the Forum; that there was no Necessity of coming in the Night-Time to the Field of Election, and that he himself would, by Six in the Morning, be in Person at the Place of the Assembly. On the 21st of *November*, *Milo* came before it was Light to the Place of Assembly. About Day-break, *Metellus* was seen to run like a Thief, by Bye-roads, towards the Field of Election, but *Milo* pursued him, and overtook him between the Groves, and there made his Declaration, that he would observe the Auspices; *Metellus* was then obliged to leave the Place loaded, by *Quintus Flaccus*, with bloody, bitter, Reproaches.

On the 22d of the same Month a Fair was held, nor were the People harangued for two Days. This Day being the 24th, *Milo* was in Possession of the Field of Election by three in the Morning, when I wrote this. Our Candidate and Neighbour *Marcellus* snores so loud that I hear him from the next House. I am told that the Court-yard of *Clodius* is quite empty of all but a few tattered Wretches, who are provided with a pitiful Lantern. They complained that it was my Counsel alone that gave *Clodius* all his

(1) Viz. *Publius Clodius* and *Appius Clodius*, and *Metellus Nepos*, who was married to their Sister,

Crosses, little knowing what Spirit and what Abilities my brave Friend possesses. His Virtue is even amazing, and every Day I could instance some new and divine Proofs of it; but I forbear. It is sufficient to say, in short, that I am of Opinion the Elections will not be held, and that *Milo* certainly will impeach *Clodius*, if he does not before hand kill him; which I am convinced he will do, if they should chance to encounter on the Road⁽¹⁾. This I know to be his determined, his fixed, Resolution, without being in the least discouraged by my Fate. No, *Milo* has no envious, treacherous, Companion for his Counsellor, he puts no Trust in a spiritless great Man.

As to my own Part, I have rather more Spirits than when I was at the Height of my Fortunes. My private Circumstances are indeed reduced; yet I have been obliged to the Assistance of my Friends for repaying to my Brother *Quintus* the Sums he lent me; I did this against his Will, but I was afraid lest he should be utterly drained. I know not, in your Absence; how to adjust my Plan of Conduct; I therefore require your speedy Presence.

E P I S T. IV.

I HAD a very agreeable Visit from *Cincius* ⁽²⁾ on the 30th of *January* before Day-break, for he acquainted me with your being in *Italy*, and that he was sending off some Slaves to meet you, and I was

(1) *Cicero* here guesses pretty exactly at what afterwards happened, for *Clodius* was actually killed by *Milo* in this Manner.

(2) He was one of the Agents of *Atticus*.

unwilling they should go without a Letter from me. Not that I had any Thing to write you of Importance, especially as you are so near at hand, but I was willing to intimate to you how extremely dear and desirable your Arrival is to me. Fly therefore to me upon the Wings of Affection; let me give you a Proof of mine. I can say no more till I meet you; I am hurried while I write; I expect that my House shall be the first Place you and your Retinue shall stop at in Rome.

You will have a Pleasure upon paying me the first Visit, in being entertained with the fine Arrangement of my Library by *Tyrannio* (1). You cannot conceive how valuable the Remains are, that I have picked up. I likewise beg in the mean Time two Workmen from your Library, whom *Tyrannio* may employ as Pastors, and in other Capacities, and order them to bring along with them some fine Vellum for Labels, which you *Greeks*, I think, call συλλαβους (2); but this is just as you find it convenient. I wish you

(1) This Gentleman was a Greek, and an excellent Grammarian. He had been taken by *Lucullus* at the Siege of *Amisus*, and had been Tutor to the Son of *Quintus Cicero*.

(2) Orig. *Etiam vellem mihi mittas de tuis librariis duos aliquos, quibus Tyrannio utatur glutinatoribus, ad cætera administris: iisque imperes, ut sumant membranulam, ex qua indices fiant, quos vos Græci, ut opinor, συλλαβους (indices) appellatis.* Commentators have differed greatly both in the Reading and the Meaning of this Passage. It is sufficient for me to observe, that the *Volamina*, or Volumes of the *Romans* were large Rolls of Parchments glewed to one another. *Salmasius* is of Opinion, that the Codices were pretty much of the same Form with our Books. Be this as it will, it is certain, that the Workmen spoken of here, were employed in glewing together the Sheets of Parchment or Vellum, and in making Labels with proper Ornaments and Paintings, which were to be affixed to every Volume, so that each Book might be found as readily as we find them by Titles on the Back.

could

could order Matters, so as that when you come, you may make some Stay in this Place, and bring *Pilia* (1) along with you. This is but reasonable, and my Daughter likewise wants to see her. Now I think of it, what a charming Place you have purchased for your Gladiators, who I hear are very expert at their Business. If you had a Mind to let them out you might have made one half upon the other of what they cost you. But we shall talk of this afterwards. Make haste to come to me, and, as you love me, do not forget the Posters.

EPIST. V.

YOU surely have a Mind to be merry—Can you imagine there is a Man in the World; whom I can wish, preferably to you, to read and approve of my Writings? Then why, say you, did another see this Composition first. The Truth is, I was teased by the Person to whom I sent it, and I had no Duplicate. Well, would you know more, (for I have been long mincing what I must swallow) I own that I thought a Recantation (2) was mean and scandalous. But farewell to the Counsels of Integrity, Truth, and Honour. Inconceivable is the Treachery of those leading Men, as they aspire to be, and would be in Fact, had they within them one Spark of Honesty. I had a Feeling, I had an Experience, of this, when they led me on, when they left me, and when they spurn'd me away; yet still I was determined to go along with them in public

(1) This was the Wife of *Atticus*.

(2) *Orig. αναμνηστικα. Recantatio.*

Matters, while their Conduct continued the same as before, and it was with Difficulty your Admonitions restored me to my Senses.

You will tell me that you pointed out, that you led me into, the Path I was to hold, but never advised the drawing up that Paper. I speak it sincerely, my Friend, when I tell you that my Design in it was to rivet the new Coalition, that I might by no Means shift about to those who beheld me with Envy, at a Juncture when they ought to behold me with Compassion. Yet, as I wrote you before, I have been very moderate in my Arguments⁽¹⁾. But I will improve them, if *Cæsar* is pleased with the Composition, and if it pinches those who cannot brook my being in Possession of the Seat that belonged to the noble *Catulus*, without considering that I bought it of the Upstart *Vettius*. Those Gentlemen, at the same Time say, that I had more Occasion to have sold one of my Houses than to have built a new one. But what do you think? If at any Time I gave my Opinion on the same Side with them in the Senate, they were pleased that I contradicted the Sentiments of *Pompey*. This is too much. But since I cannot have Friendship from those who can do nothing, I must take Care to have it from those who can. You tell me that it is a long Time since you advised me to this. I know it, and the greater Ass was I ⁽²⁾ for not following your Advice. But it is now Time for me to be my own Friend, since I can by no Manner of Means secure the Friendship of those Gentlemen.

(1) Orig. *inodiosus. Argumento.*

(2) Orig. *Et me asinum Germanum fuisse.* All I have to plead for this ludicrous Expression, that it is equally ludicrous in the Original.

I take

I take it very kind that you have so often an Eye upon my Builders. I have given *Craſſipes* the Money I had laid aside for my travelling Charges. Do you meet me in the Gardens as soon as I shall alight. This is most convenient for you. Next Day I may happen to visit you, but of this we'll consider farther. Your Workmen have embellished my Library very prettily, by arranging and labelling my Books. I beg you to thank them in my Name.

E P I S T. VI.

BELieve me, I have a due Sense of the Death of *Lentulus*. In him we have lost an excellent Patriot and a great Man; a Man, whose Magnanimity was tempered by Politeness. There is, however, one Comfort left us, though a miserable one, which is, that as Times go we ought by no means to be grieved at his Death. I do not mention this in the Sense that *Sausseius*, and you, *Epicureans* understand it, but by Heaven, I think it was some favourable Providence of the Gods that snatched a Patriot, like him, out of the Conflagration of his Country's Liberties. Let me ask you, can we (I speak of myself in particular) breath upon viler Terms than we do? As for you, though you are by Nature cut out for public Affairs (1), yet you have no particular Connections with any Party, and you take your Chance with your Neighbours. But for me; I, who, if I speak upon public Affairs as I ought, am deemed a Madman; if, as I must, a Slave, and if I am silent, a Wretch and a Coward, how ought I to grieve? And even that Grief becomes more stinging in that I cannot

(1) Orig. πολιτικός. *Politicus*.

express it, without incurring the Charge of Ingratitude.

Supposing then I should take a Fancy to lie by and take Shelter in the Harbour of Retirement. 'Tis all in vain, I should find even that a Scene of Warfare and Trouble. Shall I then be a Follower, who refused to be a Leader. Well, be it so, since that Course seems to be most agreeable to your Sentiments. Would to Heaven I had always had the same Deference for them. We are now only to sail with the Stream (1). That, by the Gods, is what I cannot do, and I cannot chuse but commend *Philoxenus*, who chose rather to go to Jail again than dissemble his Sentiments. While I am here, I do all I can to bring myself to another Way of Thinking, by condemning those Maxims, and in this you'll be of great Use to me when we meet together.

I perceive that you frequently write to me, but to my inexpressible Concern, I received all your Letters at one and the same Time. For I happened to read three of them before-hand, in which you seemed to have some Hopes of *Lentulus*, for which Reason, the Fourth came upon me like a Thunderbolt. But, as I said before, he is not miserable tho' we are insensible,

As to what you write me concerning my Address to *Hortensius*, I am otherwise employed, but I will not forget what you recommended. But, by Heavens, I was shocked when I first sat down to do it, lest, as I had stupidly borne with the Excesses of a Man who cannot be called my Friend, I should as stupidly expose his Injustice by my Writing, while,

(1) Orig. Σπάρταν ἵλαχis, ταύτας νέεσθαι. *Spartam sortitus es, ipsum orna*

at the same Time, my Insensibility(1), which was visible in my Actions, may become still more visible by my Writing, which may be looked upon as an Acknowledgment of my Inconstancy. But I will consider farther of it.

I beg you'll let me hear from you as often as possible. Obtain from *Luceius* a Copy of the Letter I sent, to beg him to write an Account of my Transactions. It is handsomely penned, press him to forward the Work, and give him Thanks from me for informing me, that he will set about it. Cast an Eye as Occasion offers, upon my Building. Do not forget my Compliments when you see *Vestorius*, for he has dealt very kindly by me.

EPIST. VII.

Nothing could come more opportunely(2) than your Letter did, for allaying my Concern about that excellent Youth my Nephew *Quintus Cæcilius* had been with me two Hours before, with the most frightful Accounts. As to what you write me concerning *Apollonius*, may the Gods confound that *Græcian* Fellow, if he thinks that he can screen himself, as the *Roman* Knights do, from the Pursuit of his preferable Creditors. As to *Terentius*, he has a Right to do it; as to *Metellus*, there has not a Citizen for these many Years—but Peace be to the dead(3). I will answer for the Money he owed you. What are you afraid of? Considering who he has made his Heir. Has he not made *Clodius*, and thus his last Action was the only honest one in his Life. I doubt therefore you will not be put to the Trouble of locking up this Sum in your strong

(1) *Orig. βᾶδύτης. Profunditas. i. e. Nimia patientia.*

(2) *Orig. ὁκαιστικός. Opportunus.*

(3) *Orig. ἐκ τῶν φθιμένων. Nefas mortuis, &c.*

Box; in Time to come you'll learn to be more cautious.

Pray remember what I recommended to you concerning my House, and to hire a Guard for my Workmen. Put *Milo* in Mind to be upon the Watch. My Friends in *Arpinum* make a prodigious Noise concerning my Brother's Country-House. What will you have me to say? I own it gives me Pain, as for him he laughs at the Talk of the Public (1). I have nothing to say farther than to recommend to your Care and Affection our young Nephew.

EPIST. VIII.

I AM pleased with many Passages in your Letter, especially with your Sneers upon my Dish of Cheese and pickled Cabbage (2). Well, you may say what you will of those Farthing-Savings; but I say that no Man can be accounted happy before his Death (3).

I find nothing built for you upon your Grounds here. There is something in the Town that may suit you, it lies contiguous to my House; but there is some Doubt whether it is to be sold. Be it known to you, that *Antium*, with Regard to *Rome*, is as your *Butbrotum* is to *Corcyra*. Nothing can be more retired, nothing more serene, nothing more pleasurable. Even our best beloved Place of Birth loses its Charms (4), when compared with *Antium*. But my Seat here, charming as it is, received new Life from the Arrangement and Disposition of my Books

(1) Orig. ὁ δὲ ἐκ ἱμῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον. Ipse autem rumores haud curabat.

(2) Orig. Patina Tyrotarichi.

(3) Orig. μήπω μὲν ἔτι βίης, πρὶν τελευτήσαντ' ἴδης. Neminem beatum dixeris priusquam ipsum vita functum videris.

(4) Orig. εἰς μισσητὸς φίλος οἶκος. Sit odiosa chara domus.

by

by *Tyrannio*, who had vast Assistance in his Work from your Servants, *Dionysius* and *Menophilus*. Nothing could make a handsomer Appearance than your Shelves did, after they had labelled all my Books. It is prodigious. Write me concerning the Gladiators, I mean if they have behaved well, if otherwise, I don't care to hear of them.

Apenas had but just left me, when I received your Letter. But what do you say that that Law will not be moved for? I beg you will speak out, for I can scarce hear your Voice, let me know the Truth as soon as you can with Conveniency to yourself. It happens conveniently for me that the public Diversions are continued a Day longer; for I shall pass here another joyous Day with *Dionysius*. I entirely agree with your Sentiments concerning *Trebonius*.

As to *Domitius*, "No Egg was ever more like another (1) than his Case is to mine in all its Circumstances(2)." Both of us have been betrayed by the same Men, neither of us expected it, and neither of us found in them one Grain of Honour. In one Respect we differ, that he deserves what he has met with. As for his Fate, I know not if it is better than mine. For what can be more mortifying than that the Man who seemed, from the Moment he was born, to be destined for the Consulship, never should enter upon that Office, especially as he is the single Candidate, or at least has no more than one Competitor. But if it is true, as I know not whether it is or not, that in the consular Kalendar he stands as far from that Office as ever, what can be more wretched than his Situa-

(1) Orig. Σύνεμα πρὸς τὴν Διμύρτῃ σύνεμα ἢ δὲ οὕτω ὅμοιον γέγονεν.

Ficus, per Cererem, ficus nulla sic fuit similis.

(2) Orig. περιστάσις. Circumstantia.

sion. What, I say, can be more desperate, excepting the State of the Public itself, which is now irrecoverable (1).

You gave me the first Accounts I received concerning *Natta*; I always hated that Fellow. What do you mean by enquiring after my Poem. Suppose it should want to be published—Tell me—Would you suffer it? But to proceed in Answer to your Letter. I always received Abundance of Civilities from *Fabius Luscius*; nor did I ever hold him in Disesteem, for he had a good Share of Quickness, Modesty and Decency. I thought he had been gone from *Rome*, because I had not seen him for a long Time, but I understood from *Gavius of Firmum*, that he was still at *Rome*, which was his constant Residence. Why, you'll tell me, should you be startled with so trifling an Incident. The Truth is, he brought me a great deal of certain Intelligence concerning the Brothers of *Firmum*, I cannot think what has broken off our Correspondence, if it be broken off.

I will, as you advise me, behave in public Matters (2), with a proper Circumspection, and steer the middle Course (3). But this requires more Abilities than I am master of. I must, as usual, be assisted by you. I wish you would sound *Fabius*, if you

(1) The Original of this Paragraph, which the Reader may consult, is inexpressibly intricate. I have translated it from the best Readings, as I think *Cicero* meant it. It is, however, proper for the Reader to know that this *Domitius Ænobarbus* stood for the Consulship, and would infallibly have carried it, had not *Pompey* and *Crassus* prevailed with *Cato* to have the Election postponed, and by that Means qualified themselves to be Candidates, and were chosen.

(2) Orig. πολιτικῶς. *Politice*.

(3) Orig. τῇ ἐν ἑαυτῷ γραμμῇ. *Lineam interiorem*.

have any Means of Access to him, and tamper a little with that Messmate of yours, and send me daily Intelligence of that and all other Matters. Write to me, though all you have to say is, that you have nothing to write. I wish you well.

EPIST. IX.

THERE is a strong Report at *Puzzoli*, as if *Ptolomy* (1) was again upon his Throne. Inform me, if you have any Certainty of this. I am here, feasted; you think, I suppose, upon the Delicacies of *Puzzoli* (2) and the Lake of *Lucrinus*, No, upon the Library of *Faustus*. I have even my sensual, as well as intellectual, Entertainments. But by Heavens, Books alone give me Support and Refreshment, so insipid and tasteless are all other Amusements and Pleasures become to me, through the wretched Situation of my Country, and I had rather fill that little Bench in your Library, under the Bust of *Aristotle*, than fill the highest Seat of Government (3); nay, I had rather take a Turn at your House, and in your Company, than walk with the Man, whom, I foresee, I shall be obliged to fol-

(1) *Ptolomy Auletes* was the Father of the famous *Cleopatra*. His Story is well known from our Author's other Epistles, and that after being driven from his Throne, he was restored by *Gabinus*, at the Head of a *Roman* Army, in express Contradiction to the *Sibylline* Verses, whilst our Anthon, in vain endeavoured to have that Commission to his Friend *Lentulus*.

(2) This was a Sea-Town near *Naples* and the *Lucrine* Lake, which lay in its Neighbourhood, and is now a nasty Marsh, famous for Shell-Fish, especially Oysters.

(3) *Orig. Sella Curulis*. These were a kind of Elbow-Chairs, of a particular Form, ornamented with Ivory, and appropriated to the Use of the Consuls, Prætors, and the great *Ædiles*, who for that Reason were called *Curule Magistrates*.

low (1). But let Fortune, or, if there is a Providence (2), let Providence, look to that Walk.

I beg you will look after, as often as you can, the Building of my Gallery, my Stove, and every Thing that has been designed by *Cyrus*, and urge *Philotimus* to forward the Workmen, that I may not be quite behind hand with you in Matters, that are to your own Taste. *Pompey* came to his House at *Cumæ* Yesterday, being the 21st of *April*, and immediately sent one to present me with his Compliments. Having finished my Letter this Morning, I am now setting out to pay him a Visit.

EPIST. X.

I SHOULD be glad to know if there is any Ground for a Report we have here, that the Tribunes, by pretending to observe the Auspices, prevent the Enrollment of the People, and what the Behaviour and Sentiments of the People are, with Regard to the Censorship (3)? I have been here for some

(1) This seems to be the Sense of *Cicero*. But there is, in the Original an Allusion of no great Importance with Regard to a Visit, which *Cicero* intended to pay to *Pompey* the Person here spoken off.

(2) This is a Sneer upon the Epicurean Philosophy, which *Atticus* professed, for I cannot think the Expression in the Original justifiable by any other Construction.

(3) The censorial Authority, if virtuously exercised in the Reformation of Manners, and the Degradation of Senators, Noblemen and Knights, who were unworthy of their Stations, might have still saved the Constitution of *Rome*. But yet I cannot help being of Opinion that their Power, which was discretionary, and could be circumscribed only by their own Virtue and Judgment, was very liable to Abuse in that degenerated State of the Republic, when our Author wrote It was, perhaps, not without very plausible Reasons, that the Tribunes of *Caesar's* Faction, repressed their Authority, which if properly exercised

some Time with *Pompey*. We have had together a great deal of Discourse upon public Affairs. If we are to believe him (for I cannot speak of him without this Restriction) he was dissatisfied with himself; he looked with Contempt on the Government of *Syria*, with Indifference on that of *Spain*. If we may believe him, (for still I think that is the Characteristic which we must affix to him, as *Phocylides* (1) did a peculiar Mark to his own Works) he is very much obliged to you for arranging the Statues in his Amphitheatre. With Regard to me, he seemed, by Heavens, to pour out his Soul in Tenderness and Confidence. He even came to *Cuma* from his own House to see me. He appeared not a little dis-
tasted at *Messala's* (2) standing for the Consulship. I wish you would inform me what you know concerning that Fact.

I am obliged to you for writing me Word that you would recommend the Embellishment of my Actions to *Luceius*, and that you frequently look after my Builders. My Brother *Quintus* writes me Word, that he has his dear *Cicero* along with him; he will see you about the 7th of *May*. I left *Cuma* Yesterday, being the 27th of *April*; I lodged all Night at *Naples* with *Latius*, and I write this early

exercised, might have been an unsurmountable Bar to his Ambition. The Enrollment here spoken of, ought, by the Laws of *Rome*, to have been performed every five Years, and was a very useful Piece of Policy. For the Names, Ages, Number of Children, and the Value of the Estates of all Citizens being enrolled, the Government always had the Means of making a pretty exact Estimate of the Strength of the State.

(1) *Orig. κ' τὸν Φωκυλίδην. Et hoc Phocylidis.*

(2) *Pompey* opposed him because he befriended *Scipio*, *Pompey's* Antagonist.

208. CICERO'S EPISTLES

on the 20th in the Morning, on my Journey to my House at *Pompeia*.

EPIST. XI.

I WAS wonderfully pleased with your Letters, which I received the last Day of last Month. Pray write me the whole of that Story, for I am impatient to know it. There is another Matter which I beg you would inform yourself of; you may do it by *Demetrius* (1). *Pompey* told me, that he had made an Appointment with *Crassus*, at his Seat at *Alba*, the 28th of this Month, from whence they were to set out together for *Rome* to settle Accounts with the Farmers of the Revenue. I asked him (2), whether they had settled Matters with Regard to the Shew of Gladiators? he said, his Business would be dispatched before they mounted the Stage. If you know, either at present, or when *Pompey* comes to *Rome*, what there is in this Matter, I beg that you will inform me.

I am here with *Dionysius* (who sends his Compliments to you and all your Friends, and is, take my Word for it, a very extraordinary Person) in a Manner devouring Books. Nothing gives Pleasure equal to extensive Knowledge (3). As therefore I

(1) This was the famous Slave and Freedman of *Pompey*, and he had amassed so much Money in the War against *Mitridates*, that after building one of the most magnificent Amphitheatres in *Rome*, and laying out Gardens at an immense Expence, he died worth about 500,000 *l.* of our Money.

(2) I suspect Monsieur *Mongault* has misunderstood this Passage. I have therefore translated it different from him; for I can by no means see that his Translation is warranted by the Original. In the mean while, I am not absolutely sure of my own Translation, and whether this is not one of *Cicero's* Sneers (the Wit of which is in a great Measure lost to us) by joining *Publicanis* and *Gladiatoribus*.

(3) *Orig.* οὐδὲν γλυκύτερον ἢ πᾶσι εἶδέναι. *Nihil suavius quam scire omnia.*

am a Person who thirsts for Information, write me all that passed upon the first and second Days of the Month ; how the Censors behaved, what is become of the Sollicitation of *Appius*, and what of his Brother *Clodius*, the effeminate *Apuleius* (1) of the State. In short, write me what you are yourself employed in. For to say the Truth, I am not so much pleased with the Accounts of fresh Occurrences, as with your Letters. I have carried no body with me but *Dionysius*, and yet, even though you are not here, I am not afraid of our Conversation growing insipid (2). I am greatly diverted. Pray give my Book to *Luceius*. I send you the Treatise of *Demetrius Magnes* (3), that you may have an immediate Opportunity of returning me an Answer by the Bearer.

E P I S T. XII.

Egnatius (4) is at *Rome*, but I had a very serious Discourse with him at *Antium* concerning the Affair of *Halimetus*. He gave me fresh Assurances that he would act in good Earnest with *Aquileius*. If you please therefore, you will give *Egnatius* a Meeting. I scarce think that I can succeed for *Macro*; for

(1) He was a seditious Tribune under *Marius*.

(2) *Orig. Nec metuo tamen ne mihi sermo desit abs te. Opere delector.* The Original here is extremely dark. I have translated it, according to what I take to be *Cicero's* Meaning.

(3) The Subject of this Book, was a Treatise concerning Unanimity amongst fellow Citizens (*ἡγορίας*) and some Commentators have thought that it was written by the Freeman of *Pompey*.

(4) He was a Roman Knight, and a great Friend to our Author.

there is a Sale at *Larinum*, which will last for two Days. I hope you will excuse my Failure, though I perceive you have a great Regard for *Macro*; but as you love me, I absolutely insist upon your and *Pilia's* supping with me the 2d of next Month. I am thinking of supping on the 1st in the Gardens of my Son-in-Law *Crassipes*, whom I will visit, though he lies out of my Road, because I intend to elude the Resolution of the Senate (1). After Supper, I will go to my House in the Town, that I may be early next Morning with *Milo*; I will see you there, and again put you in Mind of my Invitation (2). All here send their Compliments to you.

E P I S T. XIII.

I Perceive that you know of my Arrival at *Tusculum* the 15th of *November*, where *Dignysius* gave me his Company. I intend, what do I mean by intend?—I am obliged, to be at *Rome* by the 14th of next Month, to be present at *Milo's* Marriage (3), not to mention that there is some Talk of the Elections of Consuls (4), about this Time likewise. I am far from being troubled because I was absent from the Senate House, whereas I hear the

(1) *Orig. Facio fraudem S. C.* If a Senator was in *Rome*, and did not attend the Service of the House the first Day of the Month, he was fined by a standing Order of the House; but *Cicero* eluded this Fine by being in the Neighbourhood, though not within the Walls, of *Rome*.

(2) *Orig. Promoncho.*

(3) He married the Dictator *Sylla's* Daughter.

(4) Those Elections were generally held in the Month of *July*, but the Meeting was adjourned this Year to the End of *November*.

Debates run very high (1). For I must either have spoken against my Sentiments, or have failed in my Duty. But I beg you will write, as exactly as possible, an Account of all those Matters, and of the present State of the Commonwealth, and with what Spirit the Consuls bear all those Disorders (2). I am very sharp set (3) to hear all, and, to tell you the Truth, every Thing alarms me.

I understand, that after our Friend *Crassus* (4) assumed the Imperial Robe, he left *Rome* with less Dignity than *Lucius Paulus*, at his Age, and, like him, in his second Consulship, formerly did. Scandalous Man! I have taken great Pains upon my Treatise, concerning an Orator, having often revised and carefully corrected it. You are at Liberty to copy it out. I again entreat you to be very distinct

(1) One of the most terrible Effects of the Triumvirate between *Cæsar*, *Crassus* and *Pompey*, was the two latter obtaining by their Interest, the Prolongation of *Cæsar's* Government of *Gaul* for five Years, while *Pompey*, by *Cæsar's* Interest obtained the Government of *Spain*, and *Crassus* that of *Syria*.

(2) Orig. *συνάμιον*. Tumultum.

(3) Orig. *ὀξύγαστος*. Famelicus.

(4) *Crassus* was both ambitious and avaritious, and to gratify the latter Passion, he had obtained the Government of *Syria*, that he might make War against the *Parthians*, by which he expected immense Treasures. As nothing makes a Man more odious, as well as contemptible, than Avarice does, there was a Kind of a Conspiracy amongst all Ranks of Men against this Expedition, and the Auspices which were taken according to Custom, previous to his Departure, being found unfavourable, the Tribune *Attius*, after pronouncing a Form of Imprecation against him, if he departed, which was thought by the People to carry along with it infallible Damnation, would even have stopped him by Force, had not *Crassus* escaped in the Tumult out of *Rome*. We need not therefore have Recourse to any supernatural Interposition that enforced this Imprecation to the Destruction of *Crassus* and his Army, because, in Fact, it carried along with it a real and a physical Cause, by the Effects it produced upon the Spirits, both of his Men and Officers.

in giving me your Account of the present State of public Affairs (1), that I may not come to *Rome* quite a Stranger.

E P I S T. XIV.

OUR Friend *Vestorius* writes me Word that he reckoned you did not leave *Rome* before the 10th of *May*, which was later than you intended on account of your Indisposition. It will give me sincere Pleasure to hear that you are recovered. In the mean while, I beg that you will send a written Order to your Domesticks, that I may have Admittance to your Library, in the same Manner, as if you were present. I have Occasion for several Books, but more particularly for those of *Varro* (2). For there are some Passages in his Books, which I shall make use of in the Treatises I am now composing, and which I am in hopes will give you Pleasure.

If you have any News concerning my Brother *Quintus*, or of *Cæsar*, or of the Elections, or of the Commonwealth (for I know how quick and sagacious you are in these Matters) pray let me have them in writing. Though you have nothing of Importance to write, yet write me somewhat, for I never thought a Letter of yours, either unseasonable or gossiping. Above all Things, I beg that you will see me with the first Opportunity after you have settled your Affairs, and your Journey to your

(1) Orig. τὴν παρῶν κατὰσταν τύχην. *Præsentem rerum statum in graphice.*

(2) He was at this Time Lieutenant to *Cæsar* in his Government of *Gaul*.

Mind.

to ATTICUS.

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Mind. I offer my Compliments to *Dionysius*.
Farewell.

E P I S T. XV.

I AM glad to hear of the good Fortune of *Eutychides*, who, to his own Name, has that of *Titus Cæcilius* now added, in the same Manner as *Dionysius* takes the Name of *Marcus* from me, and that of *Pomponius* from you. It will give me sensible Pleasure, if *Eutychides* knew that he is obliged for his Liberty to your Kindness for me, that I was no Stranger to the Sympathy (1) he shewed for me in my Trouble, and that I have since had a due Resentment of it. I suppose you are under a Necessity of going to *Asia*, for you never, without the most urgent Occasion, would so long banish yourself from all that is dear to you in Friendship and in Life. But a Judgment may be formed of your Tendernefs and Affection for your Friends, by the Quickness of your Return. Yet I am apprehensive that the Rhetorician *Clodius* (2) may, by his Wit, charm you to a Stay, together with *Pituanus* (3), who is I hear a very learned Man, and, though late in Life, is now studying the *Greek* Learning. But be a Man of your Word, by returning to us at the Time you have appointed. When those Gentlemen shall come safe to *Rome*, you may have their Company there.

(1) Orig. συμπάθειαν. *Commiserationem*.

(2) He was a famous Professor of Rhetoric, a Native of *Sicily*, and taught both in *Latin* and *Greek*.

(3) He seems to have been of a noble Family in *Rome*.

You write me that you long to have a Letter from me; I have sent you one which contains a great Number of Particulars, all of them written in the Form of a Journal (1), but I conjecture you did not stay long enough in *Epirus* to receive it; for the Manner in which I write my Letters, at least those I address to you, is generally such, that I dare not trust them with any Bearer, but one who I am sure will put them into your own Hand. Now as to the Affairs of *Rome*. On the 9th of *July*, *Sufenas* (2) and *Cato* were acquitted, and *Proclius* was condemned. From this we may learn, that our superlative *Ariopagites* (3) do not value a rush Corruption and Violence at Elections, nor the Interreign of Government, and the treasonable Violations of the whole System of our Constitution. We were to consider whether it was lawful to kill the Head of a Family within his own House; yet this Question was not carried without a Division; for, out of fifty Judges, twenty two were for acquitting the Criminal. It must be owned, that *Publius Clodius*, who appeared for the Prosecution, when he came to wind

(1) *Orig. ἡμετέρευθον. Dierum ordine.*

(2) Those three Persons had been Tribunes of the People two Years before, and were now impeached for undue Practices to favour the Election of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, two of them were acquitted, but the third, *Proclius*, having been guilty of an Assassination was cast.

(3) Alluding perhaps to the three Estates of Senators, Knights, and Tribunes of the Treasure, which made up the Bench of Judges. I have translated the *Greek* here by the Word *Superlative*, upon the Authority of many Writers, particularly of *Horace*, who sometimes was very fond of latinizing the *Greek* Phraseology. For Instance, when he has Occasion to translate the Words *τρισκαετιοφρων* and *τρισχαλκιον*, he does it by *Mi robur & æs triplex circa pectus erat*, where the Word *triplex* is only meant to exaggerate.

up his Speech, made a great Impression upon the Minds of the Judges. *Hortensius* spoke in his usual Manner. As for me, I did not open my Lips; for my little Girl, who is now sick, was afraid of my throwing out somewhat to exasperate *Clodius*.

When those Trials were over, the Inhabitants of *Reate*(1) carried me to their Country, which is another *Tempe* (2) for Beauty, to plead their Cause against those of *Interamni* (3) before a Consul and ten Commissaries. The Case was, the latter had cut through a Mountain to widen the Discharge which *Marcus Curius* had given to the Lake *Velinus* into the *Nar*, by which the Plain of *Rosfa* (4) is drained of its Humidity. I lived some Time with *Accius* (5), who gave me a Convoy from his own House to the seven Fountains (6). On the 9th of *June*, I returned to *Rome* to attend the Affair of *Fonteius*. I then went to the Theatre, where I was received with great and uninterrupted Applause. But that you say is Matter of Indifference, and impertinent in me to mention. I next saw *Antiphan* (7) play.

He

(1) This was the Capital of the *Sabines*. It is at present called *Rieti*, and lies in the Dukedom of *Spoletto*.

(2) *Orig. τήνη. Tempe.*

(3) At present *Terani* or *Terni*, and was situated upon a Kind of Island at the Conflux of a Cut from the Lake *Velinus* and the *Nar*. *Cicero* sufficiently explains the Nature of this Cause. But it is proper to observe, that this Cut was made about 240 Years before *Christ*, by *Marcus Curius Dentatus*, after he had conquered the *Sabines*.

(4) This Country still keeps its Name *Rosfa*, or the Dewy, from the perpetual Dews that fell upon it from the Exhalations of the neighbouring Lakes and Rivers.

(5) He was a *Roman* Senator.

(6) This was one of the oldest Villages in all *Italy*, and lay in the Country of the *Reatini* near the Lake *Velinus*.

(7) Most of the *Roman* Actors were originally Slaves, a Condition which cannot be said to be despicable, because it was from

He had been set at Liberty before he came upon the Stage, and in a Word, he carried away the Prize of acting, and yet, to speak it amongst ourselves, never was there so spiritless, never was there a more speechless, Creature. He remaineth still a very Slave. He, however, out-did *Astyanax* in the *Andromache*, but in his other Characters he fell short of the rest. You will perhaps ask me concerning *Arbuscula* (1), and I answer that she gave me wonderful Satisfaction. The Diversions, in short, were magnificent and highly applauded. The *Circus*-hunting is put off to another Time.

Suffer me now to conduct you to the Field of Election, where all is in a Ferment of Ambition, as you may well judge (2) from the Interest for the Use of Money rising on the 15th of *July* from four to eight *per Cent.*, extraordinary (3). You say, perhaps, that you are not ill pleased to hear that. The more Shame for you, as a Man and a *Roman*. The

from them that *Rome* learned all her Arts and Politeneſs. But when an Actor excelled in his Profession, his Master generally made him free, in compliment to the People, who often demanded his Freedom. After this all the Profits of their acting were their own Property, and some of them died immensely rich, after being treated on a Footing with the greatest Noblemen of *Rome*.

(1) A famous Comedian and Courtezan.

(2) *Orig. σῆμα δὲ τοῦ ἰσίου. Sagram tibi dicam.*

(3) *Orig. Fenus ex triente Idib. Quint. factum erat besibus.* It would require a whole Dissertation to explain this Expression. It is sufficient to say, that the common Interest amongst the *Romans* was 12 *per Cent* in a Year, one *per Cent*. being paid on the 13th or 15th of every Month. This was called *Unciarum fenus*; the third Part of this was four, which was called the *Triens*, and two Thirds of it, which was eight, was called the *Besses usurae*. The Interest *Cicero* speaks of here is therefore an additional Interest, exclusive of the 12 *per Cent*. which was the common Interest.

whole

whole Interest of *Cæsar* supports *Memmius* (1), and they have joined *Domitius* (2) with him, in standing for the Consulship, but upon what Terms I dare not commit to Writing. *Pompey* makes a Noise, complains and declares for *Scaurus* (3), but it is hard to say whether it is from his Heart or his Teeth only. None of the Candidates can plead any Preference (4) with the Public; for Money brings them all to a Level. *Messala* droops, not that he is without either Spirit or Friends; but he is opposed by the Coalition of the Consuls and *Pompey*. I am of Opinion that the Election for the Consuls will be adjourned (5).

The Candidates for the Tribuneship have decreed to be determined by *Cato*, as to their Pretences, each of them having deposited in his Hands 2500*l.* to be forfeited by the Person whom *Cato* shall find to be in the Wrong, and to be divided amongst the other Candidates. I wrote what is above, the Day before the Elections were supposed to be held; but I wrote you on the 28th of *July*, and if the Election shall be held, I will write you a full Account of it by the same Messenger, if he is not already set out. If they are fair and open, as it is thought they will be, *Cato* will carry with him more Weight than all our Courts of Justice.

I pleaded for *Messius* upon his Return from his Legateship, which *Appius* had given him under

(1) He had been formerly the Enemy of *Cæsar*.

(2) This was *Domitius Calvinus*.

(3) This *Scaurus* was the Brother of *Æmilia*, *Pompey's* second Wife, and had married *Mutia*, who had born Children to *Pompey*.

(4) *orig. ἰσχυρὰ* *Excellentia*.

(5) This happened accordingly.

Cæsar; *Servilius* summoned him to appear. He had in his Favour the *Pomptinian*, the *Velinian*, and the *Mæcian* Tribes. The Contest is fierce. His Enemies, however, have enough upon their Hands (1). I next undertake the Defence of *Drusus*, and then of *Scaurus* (2). I shall have the Honour of pleading before a most illustrious Bench, and perhaps before the Consuls elect, and if *Scaurus* is not one of them, it will go very hard with him in his Trial. I imagine, by Letters from my Brother *Quintus*, that he is now in *Britain* (3). I am extremely uneasy till I hear from him. There is one Thing, at least, I have gained, that I can judge from great and repeated Intimations, that I am upon the most affectionate and amicable Terms with *Cæsar*. I beg that you will make my Compliments to *Dionysius*, and beg and intreat him to come hither as soon as possible, to instruct my Son *Cicero*, and even his Father likewise.

E P I S T. XVI.

I Cannot send you a better Proof, that I am hurried with Business, than this Letter being written by my Amanuensis. I do not accuse you of Remissness in your Correspondence. But most of the many Letters I have received from you, served only to inform me of the Place of your Residence, from whence they were dated. Sometimes indeed they

(1) *Orig. Agitur tamen satis.*

(2) *Drusus* was impeached of Collusion with a Person whom he had accused, and *Scaurus* of oppressing the Inhabitants of *Sardinia*.

(3) He served under *Cæsar* in his Expeditions to *Britain*.
intimated

intimated, that you was in Health ; and I read two of them on that Subject with great Pleasure, which were dated from your House at *Butbrotum*, almost at the same Time. It gave me great Joy to understand, that your Voyage had been favourable. But this Intercourse of Letters, was more agreeable from its Quickness than its Information. That which I received from your Landlord *Marcus Paccius* was indeed weighty and full of Matter. I therefore now sit down to answer it. In the first Place, I convinced *Paccius*, both by Proofs and Words, of the Efficacy of your Recommendation with me, and therefore, though I did not know him before, he is now one of my most intimate Friends.

But to proceed, if I possibly can do it in a proper Place, I will introduce *Varro* into my Dialogues. But you know the Nature of them. In the oratorical Dialogues, which you extol so highly, it is impossible for any of the Interlocutors to mention any Orator, excepting those they were acquainted with and had heard. I was sensible of this Difficulty in my Dialogue concerning a Commonwealth, in which the Interlocutors were *Africanus*, *Philus*, *Lælius*, and *Manilius*. To these I added the two Youths, *Quintus Tubero* and *Publius Rutilius*, and the two Sons-in-Law of *Lælius*, *Scævola* and *Fannius*. I was therefore thinking (because in all my Compositions I generally make use of a Preface for every Book, the Method which *Aristotle* (1) follows, in what he calls, his *Exoterics* (2),) to address *Varro* without being guilty of any Impropriety. This I understand is a Method approved of by you ; I only wish

(1) Orig. *Ἀριστοτέλης*. *Aristoteles*.

(2) Orig. *ἐξωτερικὴς*. *Exoterici*, *populares*. Vid. *A. Gell.* 205.

that I may finish what I have begun. You are sensible how great and how weighty an Undertaking it is, and how much it requires, what I can least spare, I mean Leisure.

You wish that I had suffered *Scævola* to remain as an Interlocutor in those Dialogues you so much commend; but I did not remove him out of them without good Reason. In this I imitated the Conduct (1) of our divine *Plato*. When *Socrates* had come to *Cephalus* at *Pyræus*, that rich good humoured old Man is present at, and partakes of all the first Conversation that passes. But when he had spoken a reasonable Time, he tells the Company, that he intended to go to a Sacrifice; nor does he come back to the Company afterwards, *Plato*, I suppose, thinking it would be out of Character had he detained a Man of his advanced Years, all the Time that long Conversation lasted. I thought I had much greater Reason for using the same Precaution with regard to *Scævola*; you remember how aged and how infirm he was, and his high Employments in the State, rendered it not quite so decent for him to remain so many Days at the Country Seat of *Craffus*. We are likewise to consider, that the Conversation of the first Book suits very well with the Studies of *Scævola*; the other Books, you know, are filled with Terms of Art (2). I therefore thought that so jocular an old Man as *Scævola* was, could with no Propriety sit out so long a Conversation.

I will take Care of the Affair you mention concerning my Daughter. For *Aurelian's* Discoveries, as you write, leaves no farther Room to doubt

(1) Orig. πολιτικά. *Republica*.

(2) Orig. τεχνολογίας. *Artis Argutias*.

concerning

concerning that Estate, and I shall thereby likewise make my Court to my *Tullia*. I do what Services I can to *Vestorius*, because I know that they oblige you, and I wish that he may know the same. But what shall I say, the hardest Task one has, is to reconcile two reasonable Men when they differ⁽¹⁾. As to what you mention concerning *Cato*, you know that he has been acquitted from the Charge of breaking the *Junian-Licinian* Law, and I pronounce, that he will be the same with regard to the *Fufian* Law, to the no less Satisfaction of his Accusers, than of his Defenders. He is, however, again come into Favour with *Milo* and myself.

Lucretius has accused *Drusus*, and the Jury was struck⁽²⁾, and challenged on the 3d of *July*. I can send you no good News concerning *Procilius*, but you know the Way of thinking with the Public. *Hirrus* is very well with *Domitius*. The Decree of *Quicumque posthac*, which was made by the Consuls concerning the Provinces is by no means to my liking, because I understand that *Cæsar* is very

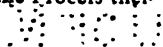
(1) *Orig. Cum habeat duo faciles, nihil difficilius*. Because they will not differ without Reason. Though the Sense in which I have translated this Passage is different from that which is given to it by Commentators; yet I can't help thinking it to be the true Meaning of *Cicero*, unless, which may very possibly be the Case, *duo faciles* means no more than two agreeable Friends.

(2) Notwithstanding the modern Air of this Expression, I cannot think it can be more literally, or more properly translated. For in *Rome* the Trials were before a Jury, who gave their Verdict, but did not fix the Punishment, which was left to the Prætor, or the Lord chief Justice; and what is still more remarkable in this Analogy, the Parties might challenge any of the Jurors. A *Roman* Jury however was determined by the Majority of those who were impannelled.

much displeased with the Declaration which *Memmius* made.

Our Friend *Messala*, with his Competitor *Domitius*, has been so liberal towards the People, that nothing can stand fairer, than they both do, for being Consuls. But the Senate has decreed, that a dormant Process (1) should be drawn up against them before the Time of Election. This Conduct has greatly alarmed the Candidates, for each of them had a Copy of the Resolution. But some of the Judges, amongst them *Opimius Antius*, have called in the Tribunes of the Commons to protest against their being tried without the Command of the People, and thus the Measure is dropped. The Senate came to a Resolution for adjourning the Time of Elections, until the Bill for the dormant Process should pass. But when the Day for bringing in the Bill came, the Tribune *Terentius* imposed his Negative upon it; upon this the Consuls, who were but lukewarm in the Affair, have carried the whole Matter before the Senate. How stupid was this! and I could not help telling them so. What; say you, will you never be at rest? You'll pardon me, if I am at present, it is with great Pain. Sure nothing was ever so ridiculous. The Senate had come to a Resolution, that the Election should not be held before the Bill passed, and if any Negative was put upon it, that the Matter from the very Beginning should come before them afresh. The Matter was carried on lukewarmly; they who managed it had no Dis-

(1) *Orig. Judicium tacitum.* So called from its not taking Effect against the Candidates till after Nomination, and if during the Time they stood they had been guilty of any undue Practices, the Process then went on.



like

like to the Negative ; the Thing was brought round again to the Senate, and they concluded, that to proceed forthwith to the Election of the Consuls will facilitate the passing the Bill.

Scaurus, who some Days ago was acquitted upon a most flourished Speech which I made in his Defence, has given Largeesses to several Tribes of the People at his own House, upon *Scævola* declaring for the Auspices, and actually observing them every Day to the last of *September*, when I had wrote thus far. But notwithstanding his Profusion, which was very great, yet his Success fell short of those who had got the Start of him in their Applications. I could wish to see your Face while you are reading this, for the longer such doings last, the better for you ; but the Senate is to meet this first Day of *October* (for the Day begins now to break) and no body will there tell their Minds freely, besides *Antius* (1) and *Favonius*, for *Cato* is sick. For my Part, I will answer for myself, but I promise nothing absolutely.

I suppose you want to know more concerning these Trials. Both *Drusus* and *Scaurus* are acquitted (2). It is thought that three Candidates will be impeached, *Domitius* by *Memmius* (3), *Messala* by *Quintus Pompeius Rufus* (4), and *Scaurus* by *Tria-*

(1) He was surnamed *Restio*, and being somewhat of *Cato's* severe Disposition, he had, while Prætor the Year before, proposed a sumptuary Law, which did not pass.

(2) *Drusus Scaurus non fecisse videntur*. Alluding to the modest Manner in which the Roman Jurors gave their Verdict.

(3) He was Tribune of the Commons, and afterwards brought Impeachments against *Gabinus* and *Rabirius*.

(4) He was designed Tribune.

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rius (1), or by *Lucius Cæsar* (2). You ask me what I can say in their Defence? May I die if I know, at least in all the three Books concerning Eloquence, which you are so much charmed with, I do not find one Topic that concerns them.

To tell you in a Word what Opinion you are to form of those Matters, we must even pocket all up. Well then, you ask me, how did I behave? I answer with Firmness and Freedom. And how, say you, did our great Man behave? Why, with the Politeness, he thought himself obliged to have a Regard to my Dignity, so as that I might obtain Satisfaction (3). But say you, how came *Gabinus* then to be acquitted? By downright, bare-faced, Mummery (4), by the wonderful Stupidity of the Accusers, I mean *Lucius Lentulus*, the Son of *Lucius* (5), who was loudly accused by all the World, of having betrayed the Cause he undertook, by the great Struggle made by *Pompey*, and by the Prostitution of the Judges. Yet after all, out of seventy Judges thirty two gave their Voices against him. But he is far from being absolved, for he is soon to be tried upon other Impeachments.

You will again ask me how I bear all this? Extremely well by Heavens, I never in my Life was so well pleased with myself. We have now lost my *Pomponius*, not only the Blood and Juices, but even the Complexion and Form of old *Rome*. Our

(1) He had been Questor some Years before.

(2) His Father had been Consul in the Year of *Rome* 690.

(3) *Cicero* had prosecuted *Gabinus* with great Inveteracy for the Part he took in driving him to Exile.

(4) Orig. γογγυῖα ἑρπῆς. *Larvæ Nudæ*.

(5) He had an hereditary Enmity against *Galinius*, who had carried the Consulship against his Father, who hated *Pompey*.

Constitution

Constitution has now no Allurements, it has no Charms for me. What! say you, does that give you Pleasure? How can it do otherwise, when I reflect what a glorious Figure this State made but a few Years ago under my Government? I can feel no Pain when I think how ungratefully I have been repaid. They who took it amiss that I had but some Degree of Power, have now the Mortification to see Power itself monopolized by one Man. This is but one Circumstance of many that gives me Consolation.

Yet still I abandon not my Post of Honour, and I follow the Bent which Nature has given my Genius, I mean, my favourite Books and Occupations. I soften the Toils of the Bar, by the Embellishments of Eloquence. I am charmed with my House, I am charmed with my rural Retirement: I reflect, not upon the Height, from which I am fallen, but the Station from whence I rose. Give me but the Company of my Brother, and of you my Friend; let Ambition sink or swim for me. With, you I can philosophize (1). There my Soul delighteth to dwell, insensible to all the Pride of Heart that it formerly contained. Yes! my private and domestic Concerns now alone give me Joy. You will admire my wonderful Tranquillity, but the Continuance of it depends, by Heavens, in a great Measure, upon your Return: For none alive has Feelings, as you have, so congenial with my own.

But now to other Views. The Tide of Government makes towards an Inter-regnum; some People suspect, and a great many talk of, a Dictator-

(1) *Orig. ἐμφυσιγενῶς. Simul philosophari.*

ship; and this gave no small Assistance to *Gabinus* with his timorous Judges. The consular Candidates are all impeached for corrupt Practices; *Gabinus* is amongst the Number; for though *Torquatus* opposed him to no Purpose, *Publius Sylla* impeached him, making no Doubt that he would keep out of the Way. But all of them will be acquitted, and henceforth no Man will be condemned, who is not a downright Murderer. Yet it is said the public is too severe in this Respect, and this gives Encouragement to Informers. *Marcus Fulvius Nobilior* is condemned, but many others of your fine Gentlemen do not even make an Appearance.

What have I more to write? yes; about an Hour after *Gabinus* was acquitted, some other Judges taking it amiss that he was acquitted, condemned upon the *Papian Law* (1) *Antiochus Gabinus*, a Freeman and an Officer of *Gabinus*, a Pupil of one *Sopolis* a Painter; upon this, the condemned Person immediately cried out, "So I am condemned, while my Master is acquitted of Treason. This is a *Paphian* Net with a Vengeance (2)".

Pontinius (3) has fixed upon the 2d of *November* for celebrating his Triumph. He is opposed by the Prætors, *Cato* and *Servilius*, and by *Quintus Mucius*, the Tribune of the People. For they pretend that the Bill for his Triumph is not yet passed, and indeed it must be said, that it passed in a very stupid As-

(1) This Law related to the Denisons of *Rome*, and regulated the Privileges of Foreigners there.

(2) Orig. ὃ σ' οἶδ' Ἀγνῆς ἀμα Πάφιν. Nonne Scio, O Mars, te simul cum Veneris.

(3) He had been Prætor under *Cicero's* Consulship, and had subdued the *Allobroges*.

sembly.

sembly. The Consul *Appius*, however, will be on the Side of *Pontinius*; tho' *Cato* swears that while he is alive *Pontinius* shall not have his Triumph. But this Threatening, like many others of his of the same Kind, I believe, will come to nothing. *Appius* is thinking of going to *Cilicia* upon his own Expence, having obtained no legal Appointments as a Governor.

Having thus answered the Letter you sent me by *Paccius*, I am to inform you farther, that I have learned from my Brother's Letters, how incredibly well I stand with *Cæsar*, and his Information is confirmed by most affectionate Letters from *Cæsar* himself. We are impatient for the Event of the *Britannic* Expedition. All we know for certain is, that the Landing-Places of that Island are naturally fortified with amazing Works; that there is not a Grain Weight of Silver in the whole Island, nor the least Hope of Prizes but from the Slaves they may make; and I do not suppose that you expect, from amongst them, any great Genius for Letters, or any fine Hand in Music.

Paulus (1) has almost put the Roof upon his Colonnade (2) in the Middle of the Forum; but the Pillars are the same. He is, however, building a new one most wonderfully magnificent. In short, nothing can be more pleasing, nothing more showy to the People than that Monument is. Therefore, we the Friends of *Cæsar*, I mean (tho' you should burst for Envy) myself and *Oppius*, have lavished

(1) This was *Æmilius Paulus*.

(2) This was a Building of the Nature of our *Royal Exchange*, and appropriated to pretty much the same Uses.

above 200,000*l.* upon that Exchange, of which you are so very fond, that we might widen its Area, and carry it as far as the Portico of the Temple of Liberty. We could not bargain with the private Proprietors for less. But we shall make it a most stupendous Work. For we are about to raise in the *Campus Martius* marble Collonades to cover the Tribes when they assemble, and they are to be enclosed within a magnificent Gallery, the Contents of the whole Area taking up a Mile. But this is not all. For to this Work is to be added a public Hall. What Benefit, say you, can you have from all this? Ay, what indeed?—Well—no more of public Matters, for I suppose you have no Curiosity as to the Lustrum, or the Trials, which are carrying on by the *Coelian* Law (1).

Were I now to reproach you, 'tis no more than what you deserve. For you wrote in the Letter, which I received from the Hands of *Caius Decimus*, and which was dated from *Butbrotum*, that you believed you was to set out for *Asia*. For my Part I did not think the Difference, whether you did your Business by Agents or in Person, was considerable enough, for your being so often and so long absent. But had not your Design been fixed, I could have wished to have treated with yourself: surely I might have had some Success. But now I will check the Reproaches I intended you. I wish to Heaven that this may hasten your Return. I write you the more seldom, because I know not, for a Certainty, where you are, or where you are to be. I have entrusted this Person, whom I know nothing about,

(1) It is uncertain what this Law was.

with

with this Letter, because he said he was to see you. I beg that you'll make me certain as to the Time when you set out for *Asia*, and when I may expect you, and tell me what you have done concerning *Eutychides*.

EPIST. XVII.

HOW welcome were your Letters, how delightful your Arrival! How punctual to your Promise, how blameless in your Friendship! All hail to your pleasant Voyage! Greatly, by Heavens, did I fear its Issue, and well did I remember the Fur-skin (1) Preparations you made when you went from us. But if I mistake not, we shall see you sooner than you mention in your Letter. You supposed, I believe, that your Ladies were by this Time in *Apulia*. But as they are not, you can have no Business to detain you there. Some Days you must allow to our Friend *Vestorius*, and that Time you will employ in recovering your Taste, for, what I may call, the *Attic* Purity (2) of *Latin*. Fly to me, my Friend, come, behold the Charms of my ideal Republic, and compare it with what now actually passes in *Rome* (3).

If I mistake not, I informed you that Money was publicly distributed, Tribe by Tribe, and in the same Place, before the Time of Election, by which Means *Gabinus* was acquitted, and he bids fair to live yet in Credit. You ask me, but I know not what to write, concerning *Messala*. Never did I

(1) Orig. δῖξιν. *Pelles, Cilicia.*

(2) Orig. *Invisis illius nostræ Reipublicæ Germanam.*

(3) Orig. ἀττικισμὸς. *Sermo Atticum redolens.*

see a Couple of Candidates, so well matched. You know *Messala's* Interest, and *Triarius* has impeached *Scaurus*. Let me tell you, the Public has no great Bowels (1) towards him, and yet People have a kindly Remembrance of his *Ædileship* (2) and the Country Tribes (3) are not a little swayed by his Father's Memory. The Difference of the Interest between the two other *Plebeian* Candidates is, that *Domitius* will be strong in Friends, but will not be excessively popular by his public Exhibitions: The Troops of *Cæsar* will recommend the Interest of *Memmius*, and, through the Influence of *Pompey*, he will have the *Cisalpine Gauls* (4). If all this Interest is not sufficient for his Purpose, it is thought that Means will be found to put off the Election till the nearer Approach of *Cæsar*, especially as *Cato* is now acquitted from the Charge of having done the same Thing before (5).

On the 24th of *October*, I received Letters from my Brother, and from *Cæsar*, dated the 26th of *September*, upon finishing their *Britannic* Campaign,

(1) *Orig. συμπάθεια. Commiseratio.*

(2) He had spent an immense Estate in the public Exhibitions during his *Ædileship*, and if we may believe *Pliny*, the Ruins or Remains of his Shews were valued at above 500,000 *l.*

(3) These were the most creditable Tribes that composed the Assemblies of the People. The Town Tribes being composed of a Set of Vermin. The Memory of *Marius* was dear to the Country Tribes, and the Father of this *Scaurus* was next to *Marius* the greatest General of that Party.

(4) *Pompeius Strabo*, the Father of the great *Pompey*, who was now for *Memmius*, had obtained to the People of this Province the Privileges of *Romans*.

(5) *Viz.* When *Domitius Ænobarbus* stood, and lost it by the Means of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, who prevailed with *Cato* to put off the Election of Consuls, and thereby gained Time to qualify themselves legally.

at the Close of which they received Hostages, but no Plunder, though they ordered some Money to be paid (1), and when their Letters were dated, they were reimbarking their Troops. *Quintus Pilius* (2) was by that Time set out for *Cæsar*. If you love me, my Friend, if you love your Relations, if you think that I am to be believed, if you even have common Sense, if you wish for the Enjoyment of the good Things of this Life, let me persuade you to come hither, and to remain near me. By Heavens, I can't be myself without you. I am uneasy, even in the Absence of *Dionysius*, what then must I be in yours? My Boy joins with me in our most earnest Entreaties, that you will return as soon as your Affairs will give you Leave. The last Letters I had from you were dated from *Ephesus* the 9th of *August*.

E P I S T. XVIII.

I Suppose you think I have forgot what I practised and purposed, because I write more seldom to you than I used to do. But as I knew nothing for certain, either of your Rout or Residence, I neither trusted my Letters to *Epirus*, to *Athens*, to *Asia*, or to any Person, but to the Express who was

(1) *Orig. Confecta Britannia, obfidibus acceptis, nulla præda, imperata tamen pecunia.* Monsieur *Mongault* translates this Passage. *Les Barbares ont été vaincus, ils ont donné des otages et payé les sommes qu'on leur a imposées.* I know not whether the Reader will think the Sense in which I translate them to suit better with *Cicero's* Words, and *Cæsar's* Account of this Matter.

(2) He probably was Brother to *Pilia*, the Wife of *Atticus*, and was this Year *Questor*.

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to deliver them into your own Hands. For my Letters are not of that indifferent Nature, as not to affect me, were they to fall into strange Hands; They are written upon Subjects so sacred to Friendship, that I seldom or never trust them to my Secretaries.

Somewhat very diverting has happened here. Our Consuls are infamous to the last Degree, because the Candidate *C. Memmius* has read in the Senate-House the Indenture made by him and his Competitor *Domitius* with the Consuls; by which they covenant to give to the Consuls 5000*l.* if they themselves were made Consuls, unless they produce three Augurs, who shall bear Witness that they were present when the Law passed thro' the Wards, which never did pass; and two Consulars who shall affirm, that they were present when the Deed for appointing the consular Provinces was engrossed in the Senate; when nothing is more certain than that no Senate was then held.

As it was no Secret that this Agreement was not verbal, but strengthened by Notes of Hand (1),
Bills

(1) *Orig. Non verbis, sed nominibus et perscriptis multorum tabulis.* This seems to have been an infamous Transaction. It was of great Importance for the Consuls, who were going out, that a Law should pass through the People, assembled by the *Curia*, upon a Bill sent from the Senate, for adjudging to them their several Governments. The two Candidates, *Memmius* and *Domitius*, undertook, under the Penalty here expressed, to procure false Evidences, that such a Law had passed the *Curia*; but at the same Time the two acting Consuls on the other Hand, agree that this Obligation, should be void, unless the two Candidates should succeed to the Consulship by their Interest. There is somewhat that, to an *Englishman*, at this Time of Day, seems extremely absurd in this whole Transaction, and can be only accounted for by the prodigious Degeneracy of the *Roman* Constitution at that Juncture. Here the
Roman

Bills payable on Sight, and regular Entries in Books of Account, *Memmius*, upon *Pompey's* Motion, produced the written Evidences. Here *Appian*

Roman People are to be persuaded that they had, in a Body, or in a general Wardmote (for that is the true Sense of the Words *Comitia curiata*) passed a Law, which they never did; and the Senate, that they had passed a Bill, which never had been moved for; and, at a Time, when no Senate sat. The Juggle was to be performed in the following Manner. Every one of the antient Tribes, which were three in all, was composed of ten Wards, and had an Augur, who served as an Interpreter of the Will of Heaven, and, without his Assistance, they could not proceed. Now, though the Power of those Augurs was very great; yet it is absurd to think that those Candidates could conceive a Hope of Success, by bribing those three Augurs, unless these Wardmotes had generally been so irregular and tumultuous and so over-awed, that only a few, and those of the most powerful Party, ventured to assist at them. The Testimony, therefore, of the Augurs, as it always was very sacred, under such Circumstances, was very material. In modern Constitutions the presumed Notoriety of a Measure is often the best Evidence of its having passed, and we know that a simple Minute entered in a Book, even in the highest Tribunals in *Britain*, is all the Evidence that remains of the most important Resolutions having passed; and, if I mistake not, even the famous pragmatic Sanction has no other. As the Candidates therefore were not under the Necessity of producing any engrossed Records, signed and sealed, this Imposition seems not so impracticable as it appears to be at first Sight. It is true, that there appears to be greater Difficulty in the Imposition they intended to put upon the Senate; but we are to consider that the same Thing may be said of the Senate, as of the Wardmotes. We have already seen that *Cæsar*, or indeed any other great Man, could intimidate all who were not thoroughly in his Party, from assembling in the Senate-House, and we have many Proofs in our Author's Letters that it became a common Practice amongst the leading Men of *Rome* to publish Resolutions, which they had engrossed at Home, as the Acts of the Senate, and to prefix to them the Names of the Senators who spoke for them, and were supposed to be present at their Passing. *Cicero* tells us that he sometimes received Letters of Thanks from the eastern Princes for Decrees which he had carried thro' in their Favour, tho' no such Decrees had ever passed, and tho' he had never before heard either the Names of the Princes or their Concerns.

proved

proved himself to be a true *Appius* (1); he was not a Bit daunted: But his Colleague (2) was startled, and at last confounded. As to *Memmius*, he had against the Consent of *Calvinus*, broken the Indenture, and he was greatly crest-fallen; and now seeks to stickle to bring about a Dictatorship, to promote an Inter-regnum, and universal Disorder.

Behold now, and admire, my Equanimity, my unconcern, my Contempt of the Province of *Cilicia* (3). It is true, I have reserved one flattering Picture from the Wrecks of my Fortune; I mean that most comfortable Intimacy I have with *Cæsar*. Heavens! with what Respect, with what Dignity, with what Kindness, does he treat my, and your, Brother, *Quintus*! I could not do more for him, were I myself Commander in chief. He writes me that *Cæsar* has done him the Favour to offer him his Choice of Winter-Quarters, for the Legion he commands. Are you not in Love with that great Man; can you match him amongst the other Parties?

But hark you, did I not write you Word that I was to be Legate under *Pompey*, and that I was to set out the 13th of *January*? This, I thought, served my Purpose for many Respects; but what have I more to write? I think I will reserve the rest till I see you; that your Curiosity may bring you

(1) His Family was distinguished by a peculiar Ferocity of Manners.

(2) *Lucius Domitius*, who was his Colleague, affected a great Severity of Manners, and a great Friendship for *Cato*, and was therefore a good deal disconcerted.

(3) *Orig. Selucianæ provincie*. So called, because *Seleucus* had built a great many Towns in it, and which *Appius* had obtained the Government of, in Prejudice of our Author, upon the Expiration of his Consulship.

hither

to ATTICUS.

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hither the sooner. I send a thousand Compliments to *Dionysius*, for whom I have not only kept, but have built, an Apartment. In short, his Arrival will greatly enhance the Pleasure I shall have in yours. As you love me, I expect that you and your Retinue will fix your Quarters at my House, the very Day of your Arrival.



CICERO's



C I C E R O's
E P I S T L E S

T O

A T T I C U S.

B O O K V.

E P I S T I.

HEN we last bade adieu (1) to one another, well did I discern your Sentiments; and I am the best Evidence of what I suffered myself; you have therefore the more Reason for guarding against all new Decrees that may

(1) *Cicero*, from the Date of the last Letter, which was the 18th of *September*, under the Consulship of *Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus*, and *Appius Clodius Pulcher*, to the Date of this Letter, which seems to have been written in *May*, under the Consulship of *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Servius Sulpicius*, including a Space of upwards of two Years and a half, appears to have had no Correspondence, by writing, with *Atticus*. It is probable that they lived, during that Period, (which was a very busy one, in the *Roman Government*) at *Rome*, till *Cicero* being one of those Consulars who had been rewarded with no Government after going out of his Office, obtained that of *Cilicia*, to which we are to understand he is now upon his Journey.

prolong

prolong our Separation beyond one Year. You have settled that Affair with *Annius Saturninus* with great Judgment. As to Bail, I entreat you to put it in, as you are now at *Rome*; but some of the Bargains (1), such as the Sales of the *Memmian* and *Attilian* Estates require only a simple Warrantize. You have managed with *Oppius* (2) just to my

(1) *Orig. Et sunt aliquot satisfactiones secundum mancipium. Cujatius, 10 observ. cap. 4.* says, that a *Satisfactio secundum mancipium* was a *Repromissio nuda*, or a bare Warrantize, either verbal, or in Writing, which passed from the Seller to the Purchaser. This Opinion of that great Lawyer is strongly confirmed by a Passage in *Varro, Lib. 5. de lingua Latina. Consuetudo enim erat cum reus parum esset idoneus in certis rebus, ut pro se alterum daret, a quo carveri postea lege captum est ab his qui prædia venderent, vadesque darent, ab eo scribi captum in lege mancipiorum; vadem ne posceret, nec dabitur.* That is, "it was formerly the Custom, when the Party accused was, in certain Cases, an insufficient Bail of himself, to bring another who was bail for him. Hence it was, that the same Precaution began afterwards to be taken of those who sold Estates, and who gave Sureties, and after that it came to be Part of the Law of Fees, that a Man should neither demand nor take a Surety". I shall not trouble the Reader with any more Quotations in favour of the Sense I have given to this Expression. It is plain, that in *Rome*, as in *England*, many Things crept into the civil, from the criminal, Law. There was formerly, in both Constitutions so great a Tendernefs towards the personal Liberty of the Subject, on Account of Matters of Property, that many Proceedings in their Courts of Law seem to be unaccountable to a Person who is not acquainted with the antient Constitutions. The Expression *Satisfactio secundum mancipium* is a Proof of what I say. For a *Satisfactio* is, in Fact, the giving the Security of a third Person between two Parties. This was no easy Matter to do in Affairs of Property at the Time our Author wrote, when we consider the quick Shiftings of Property through the many Prescriptions of *Sylla* and *Marius* and other Revolutions. It appears therefore, that in certain Cases (perhaps in that of Prescription, or according to the Title Deeds) a simple Warrantize took Place of this Security, though the Term *Satisfactio* remained still the same. The Estates here mentioned were sold by *Cicero* for discharging his Debts.

(2) He was an Agent of *Cæsar*, from whom *Cicero* borrowed this Money.

Mind,

Mind, especially by your engaging for the 5000 *l*. I am even willing to take up the Money at Interest for discharging that Debt, rather than wait to the last Day of my own Money coming in (1).

I now proceed to what you write upon the cross-Margin of your Letter, I mean your Advice to me concerning your Sister. The Matter stands thus: Upon my coming down to *Arpinum*, when my Brother had paid me a Visit, we had, in the first Place, a great deal of Conversation concerning you; and then we came to talk of the Matters concerning your Sister, which had passed between you and me at *Tusculanum*. Never did I see any Thing so gentle and so good humoured as my Brother then was with regard to your Sister; nor could I discover by him, that he thought he had any just Cause to be offended at her Conduct. This was all that passed that Day. Next Day we left *Arpinum*. My Brother had particular Reasons for remaining at *Arce* (2); I proceeded to *Aquinum*, but we dined together at *Arce*, in the House you know of. As soon as we arrived, my *Pomponia*, says my Brother, in the best natured Way in the World, if you will invite the Ladies I will call upon the Gentlemen. I could imagine nothing more tender than my Brother then appear'd in his Expressions, his Manner, and his Look. I suppose, said she in our hearing, I am only a guest here: being, I believe, piqued be-

(1) *Orig. Quæ quidem ego utique vel verjura facta solvi volo; ne extrema exactio nostrorum nominum expelletur.* Or the Sense of the Passage may be: I will borrow the Money for instantly discharging *Cæsar's* Debt, rather than suffer him to wait till it is due.

(2) This Village stills remains under the same Name.

cause *Staius* (1) had gone on before us to bespeak Dinner. You see, replied *Quintus* to me, what I suffer every Day.—And what, you will say, is the great Matter of all this? I tell you, it was so great as to shock myself, so foolish were her Words, and so furious her Looks; but I have hitherto hid my Uneasiness.

All the Company, but she, sat down to Dinner; and *Quintus* served her from the Table, but she refused to eat of what he sent. In short, never did I see any Thing more good humoured than my Brother, or more provoking than your Sister, not to mention a great many other Incidents, which I assure you, at that Time, disgusted me more than they seemed to do my Brother. I set out from thence to *Aquinum*, while my Brother remained at *Arce*. Next Morning, he came to see me at *Aquinum*, and told me, that she refused to lye with him that Night, and that he had left her in the same ill humour I had seen her in. What shall I say more, but that I give you leave to tell her, that I thought her, that Day, void of all good Nature (2)? I have been perhaps more minute than I needed upon this

(1) It is wonderful to consider our Author's great Sensibility in every Thing that concern'd his Relations. He seems not to enjoy himself but in the Happiness of his Brother, who, according to the best Accounts, was not of a very amiable Character in any other respect, than his being a good Officer in the Field, and having a reciprocal Affection for our Author. This *Staius*, who is here spoken of, very probably had all the Insolence of a favourite Domestic, as he was, to *Quintus*, and perhaps the Lady had better Reason than our Author knew of for her sullen Behaviour.

(2) *Orig. Humanitate*. The Meaning of this Word is only to be determined by the Occasion on which it is used. Sometimes it signifies Good-breeding or Politeness, sometimes Humanity, and it is taken in a Variety of other Senses.

Subject, to put you in mind that it is now come to your turn to instruct and admonish (1).

You have now nothing to do but to compleat all my Commissions before you come away; write me an Account of every Thing; push *Pontinus* (2) on; and let me know when you set out. You may, by Heavens, depend upon it, there is nothing I regard, nothing I love, on Earth, beyond yourself. I took at *Minturnæ*, a most affectionate leave of *Torquatus* (3). He is a Man of great Worth. I beg you will, when you talk with him, let him know that I mentioned him to you.

EPIST. II.

AT the Time of my Writing this Letter, *May* 10th, I set out from *Pompeianum*, to pass the rest of the Day with *Pontius* at *Tribuli* (4). I resolve then to proceed in longer Stages (5), and that without farther Stop. I had the Pleasure of meeting with our Friend *Hortensius* when I was at *Cumæ*. When, at his own request, I charged him with my Commissions in general, I recommended it to him in a more particular Manner, to do all he can to prevent any Prolongation of the Term of my Government. I beg that you will put him again in

(1) From this Passage it appears, that *Atticus* had been pretty severe upon the Behaviour of our Author's Brother towards his Wife.

(2) *Cicero* had chosen him for one of his Lieutenants in his Government.

(3) He had been *Prætor* the Year before.

(4) This was a little Town of *Campania*, and still keeps the same Name.

(5) *Orig. Justa Itinera.*

mind

Mind of this, and let him know from me how kindly I took both his Visit and the Assurances he gave me of doing me Service in this, and in whatever else lay in his Power. I have likewise recommended the same Thing to our Friend *Furnius*, who, I foresee, will next Year be a Tribune of the Commons.

We have had at *Cumæ* a Kind of an Epitome of *Rome*, so great was the Resort of Company to it. In the mean while, our Friend *Rufio* (1), knowing that *Vestorius* had an Eye upon his Motions, has fairly out-witted him, by not coming to wait upon me. What, say you, is the Meaning of this? *Hortensius*, the great *Hortensius*, infirm as he is, took a long Journey, as many others did, to see you, and shall *Rufio* absent himself? I tell you he does. You have not seen him then, continue you. How could I avoid it, when I passed by the Market of *Futeoli*, where I suppose he had some Business, and where I saw him? I afterwards bad him adieu, when I met him coming from his Country-Seat, and he asked my Commands. Can any Man think this Man is ungrateful? Is it not even commendable in him that he has not put himself to Trouble for obtaining a Hearing.

But I return to my other Business. You are not to imagine that I have any Consideration to give me Comfort under the Load of Misery I am to undergo, but the Hope that it will not outlast the Year. Many who form a Judgment of me, from the Practice of others, do not believe me in earnest

(1) His true Name was *Caius Sempronius Rufus*. What is here said of him is ironical. He had a Difference with this *Vestorius*, which was referred to our Author's Arbitration. But *Rufio*, conscious that his Cause was none of the best, did all he could that it should not come to a Hearing.

in this Declaration. But I desire you, who know my Sincerity, to use your utmost Endeavours when the Time comes—When you shall return from *Epirus*, I desire that you will write me concerning the State of public Affairs, if you foresee any Event of them. For we are not yet sufficiently informed here, in what Manner *Cæsar* takes the registered Sense (1) of the Senate; and there was a Report that the Towns beyond the *Po* were ordered to create each four Magistrates (2). If this should prove true, I am afraid of great Commotions. But I shall learn somewhat of *Pompey*.

EPIST. III.

ON the 10th of *May* I came to *Pontius Trebuli*, where I received two Letters from you, dated three Days before. I had sent you a Packet by *Philotimus* from *Pompeii*, and really I have nothing material to write you now. Let me have all the public News, for I can see vast Pannicks thro' all the Towns, but many of them are groundless. Pray inform me of your Thoughts as to the present and future Situation of Things. I am at a Loss to know what are the Letters you want me to answer; for I have hitherto received none, excepting two

(1) A Motion had been made, and passed in the Senate, for recalling *Cæsar*, but it was quashed by some of the Tribunes. The Motion, however, was registered.

(2) This was a Scheme of *Cæsar* to put them upon the Footing of the municipal Towns of *Italy*, where the Persons who had passed Magistracies could vote in the Assemblies of the People of *Rome*, and could even stand for public Offices.

which

which I got at the same Time at *Trebuli*; the one containing the Edict of *Publius Licinius* (1), and dated the 4th of *May*; the other was an Answer to what I wrote you from *Minturne*. I am uneasy for fear that the Letters which I did not receive, and which you want me to answer, were of Consequence (2).

Lentulus shall feel the good Effect of your Recommendation (3). I have the Affair of *Dionysius* at Heart; your Friend *Nicanor* distinguishes himself in his Affidavities towards me. I have no more to write, and it is now Day-Light. I was thinking of going to *Beneventum* to Day. You shall have no Reason to complain of my Rectitude and Application to Business. But no more of that. Dated the 11th of *May*, from the House of *Pontius* at *Trebuli*.

E P I S T. IV.

I CAME to *Beneventum* on the 11th of *May*, and there I received the Letter; which, from your preceding Letters, I understood you had dispatched to me before; and which I answered the Day I received them, by *Pontius* from *Trebuli*. It is true, I received two of yours at *Beneventum*, one of them

(1) Every Governor of a Province and every Prætor, who was to judge of civil Matters at *Rome*, upon entering into their Offices, published a short System of the Rules and Laws that were to regulate their Conduct, which was called an *Edictum* or Edict.

(2) *Orig. σπουδαίοντος. Majoris momenti.*

(3) *Orig. Apud Lentulum penam te in gratiam.* Our Author frequently makes use of the Phrase, and in the same Sense, and it signifies, I will do Honour to your Recommendation of *Lentulus*.

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was given me by *Funifulanus* early in the Morning, the other by *Tullius* my Clerk. I am very much obliged to you for the Care you have taken of the great and capital Business⁽¹⁾ I recommended to you; but I am discouraged by your leaving the Place. I am inclined to that other Person, not that he is my Choice, but because so few other Suitors present. As to the other Person whom you recommend as no improper Match, I am afraid my Daughter will not be brought to agree to it, and it will be difficult for your Ladies to know her Mind⁽²⁾. It is a Matter of Indifference to me. But the Thing must be done, both in your Absence and mine. If you will act for me, somewhat might be done; I am sure, at least, if both of us were present, some Good might be got out of *Servius*, by the Agency of *Servilius*; but as Things stand, I do not see how the Measure can be effected were it ever so eligible⁽³⁾.

Now as to your Letter which I received from *Tullius*; you have acted the Part of a Friend to me in your Applications to *Marcellus*. Therefore if the Senate comes to any Resolution let me know it.

(1) The whole of this Epistle is both dark and crabbed. Not to mention, that scarce two Copies or Manuscripts agree with one another as to the Expressions themselves, we have not the same Advantage that *Atticus* had, in understanding all the little Hints and Innuendo's of his Friend. I have groped out the Meaning in the best Manner I could; but I cannot be sure of being always in the Right. The Matter which *Cicero* alludes to here, seems to be the Marriage of his Daughter, who had been repudiated by *Craffipes*.

(2) *Orig. Et tuis divitiarum. Dijudicatu difficile esset.*

(3) I have translated the whole of this Passage upon Conjecture, and indeed the Darknes of it, and the Variety and Inconsistency of the Readings admit of no other.

For

For I must have Levy-Money (1), and so must *Bibulus*. But I dare to say the Senate has already come to a Resolution on that Head, especially as it is so important to the Public. You have done right with regard to *Torquatus*. As to the Affair with *Maso* and *Ligus*, it will be Time enough to speak of it when they arrive. With Regard to the Complaints of *Charippus* (2), (because you refused to tell me your private Sentiments (3) upon that likewise)—Curse upon this Province. What! am I to mind even such a Fellow? It (4) seems I am, lest he do me

(1) *Orig. Mibi enim attribui oportebit, item Bibulo.* The Word *attribui* signifies in this Place to appropriate, and was the senatorial Term when any extraordinary military Money was granted for particular Purposes. *Attributa Pecunia*, says *Varro*, *dicebatur quæ assignata erat, — id quod attributum erat ex militare dicebatur.* *De ling. Lat. Lib. 4.* The Case stood with *Cicero* as follows: His Province, and that of *Bibulus*, lay nearest to the Country of the *Parthians*, and were therefore exposed to Danger from the Success of those Barbarians against *Crassus*. He therefore demanded a military Chest, exclusive of his other Appointments. He likewise applied for Leave to raise Recruits in *Italy*, for the two Legions he was to command; but in this he was opposed by the Consul *Sulpicius*. But he was in Hopes that *Marcellus* would comply.

(2) It is impossible, at this Distance of Time, to recover this and many other Pieces of our Author's private History.

(3) *Orig. ἐξομνῶν. Assensionem.*

(4) *Orig. Consule, aut numera.* I think I have hit the true Meaning of *Cicero* in this Passage, perplexed as it is. For *Monsieur Mongault* in his Translation, seems to have given it up for desperate. We learn by a Passage in *Festus Pompeius*, that it was the same Thing with the Senate of *Rome*, as with that of *Britain*. Many Things passed without a Division, but it was in the Power of any Senator to oblige the Chair to divide the House, and then the Question went according to the Majority. Any Member might likewise insist upon telling the Number of Members, because there could be no House without a certain Number. *Numerata Senatum*, says *Festus*, *ait quisvis Senator Consuli, cum impedimento vult esse quo minus faciat Senatus Consultum: postulatque ut aut res, quæ adferuntur, dividantur: aut simul consu-*

me Disservices with the Senate—'Tis no more than calling out "The Question, the Question"—"Tell the House"—For 'tis so in other Matters—It was lucky, however, that he opened himself to *Scrofa* (1).

You are right as to *Pontinius*; for if he should be at *Brundisium* before the 1st of *June*, I need not press my Lieutenants *Annius* and *Tullius* so much. I approve of the Matter suggested to you by *Socinius*, provided the Exception does not seem to affect my Friends, who have served me. But I will think farther of it; I like the Thing in the main. I will take Care you shall know how I settle my Journey, and what *Pompey* is to do with Regard to the five Deputies (2), as soon as I have talked with himself upon the Subject.

You have acted quite right in passing your Word to *Oppius* for the Payment of that 500*l.* and as you have *Philotimus* with you, I beg you would compleat the Affair, and close the Account; and, to convince you that I am in downright Earnest, I beg, as you love me, that you will do it before you leave *Rome*; for you will thereby ease me of a great Weight upon my Spirits. Now I have answered

lantur, aut si tot non sunt Senatores, quo numero liceat præscribi S. C. expectentur. Thus, *Consule* was the Term the Senators used when they moved for a Division, and *Numera* when they applied to the Chair to tell the House.

(1) He was a particular Friend of *Atticus*.

(2) *Viz.* Who were to be under him in his Government. As this was a Post of Honour, some peculiar Advantages were annexed to it. It appears to me as if *Pompey* had the naming of those Deputies, in consequence of the *African* Law, which our Author tells us in the first Epistle of the last Book, gave him more Power over the Provinces than the Governors of them had.

every

every Particular of yours. No—I had almost forgot that your Paper failed you (1). It is my Business to remedy that, as the Scarcity of your Paper occasions the Scantiness of your Letters. Well, I will allow you twenty Shillings to lay out upon Paper. And yet my crowding this Page as I do, is no great Indication that I am myself too profuse of this Commodity, while so many Facts and Rumours are flying about, to afford Matter for writing. If you have any certain Accounts of *Cæsar*, let me know them by a Letter, and write me fully on every Thing else by *Pontinius*.

EPIST. V.

THE Truth is, I have nothing to write you ; for I know of nothing to recommend to your Care, for every thing has been done, neither can I give you any fresh Information. There is, in fact, nothing new, neither am I in a Vein for being pleasant; I am oppressed with such Variety of Care. All I can tell you is, that while I write this, I prepare to set out for *Venusium* (2) in the Morning of the 15th of *May*, on which Day some Business will probably be done in the Senate. Write me therefore an Account, not only of all that is done, but of all that is said ; and I shall receive your Letter at *Brundisium*. For I am there resolved to wait for

(1) The Raillery of our Author, here arises from his Friends complaining that he could write no more because his Paper failed him.

(2) This Town lay between *Apulia* and *Lucania*, and is famous for being the Birth-place of *Horace*.

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Pontinius till the Day you mention. I will write you an Account of the Conversation (1) I am to have with *Pompey* at *Tarentum* upon the State of public Affairs; in the mean while, I desire to know to what precise Day I can address my Letters directly to yourself, that is, how long you are to be at *Rome*, so as I may be either sure of the Person to whom I send them, or that they may not be thrown away. But before you leave *Rome*, pray finish the Affair of the 5000 *l*. I beg you will look upon it as one of my most capital, as well as most necessary, Concerns, that I may follow by your Assistance the Measure which I entered upon by your Advice (2).

EPIST. VI.

I Arrived on the 18th of *May* at *Tarentum*, and as I had resolved to wait there for *Pontinius*, I held it most adviseable for me to spend the intermediate Time, till he should arrive, with *Pompey*; and the rather, because I saw that he would take this kindly of me. For he invited me to be with him every Day in his House, and I accepted his Invitation with Pleasure, because I shall hear from him a great many fine Speeches concerning public Affairs; and, at the same Time, I shall be furnished with his Counsels as to my Conduct in my Government.

But I begin now to shorten my Letters to you, as I know not whether you are at *Rome* or not. Notwithstanding this, I will write on, rather than that

(1) *Orig. διαλόγος. Sermones.*

(2) He means his Connections with *Cæsar*, from whom he had borrowed that Money.

you

you should not have my Letters, while there is a Possibility of your having them. At present, however, I have neither any Commission nor any News to send you. I have sent you all my Commissions, which I hope you will execute as you promise. When I have any Thing new I will let you know. One Thing, however, I must insist upon while I think you are at *Rome*, I mean my Affair with *Cæsar*, which I beg you will finish before you come away. I earnestly wait for your Letters, chiefly that I may learn the Time of your Departure from *Rome*.

EPIST. VII.

MY Letters to you daily, or rather from Day to Day, become more short, because I am daily inclined to think you are gone to *Epirus*. You must know, however, that I have taken Care of what you recommended to me. *Pompey* insists upon assigning me the same Numbers as mentioned before (1). But not (2) that they shall be idle, or that they shall preside in Courts of Justice. On this 20th of *May*, I set out for *Brundisium*, after spending three Days with *Pompey* at his House. I

(1) They were five, and are mentioned in a former Letter.

(2) The Text is here mutilated, and restored only by Conjecture. The Original is *Vacationes, Judiciariam Causam*. It seems *Cicero* insisted upon his Lieutenants serving in the Field, the Exemptions from which Services were called *Vacationes*, nor would he suffer them to preside in Courts of Justice.

left him one of the most excellent Patriots (1) in the World, and in the utmost Readiness to defend his Country from all the impending Calamities we so much dread. I shall wait for your Letters to inform me both of what you are doing, and where you reside.

E P I S T. VIII.

I HAVE been detained for twelve Days at *Brun-
dysium* by an Indisposition (of which I am now recovered, as it was not attended with a Fever) and in Expectation of *Pontinius*, of whom I have not yet heard one Syllable: But I have been for some Time waiting for a Passage. If you are at *Rome* when this reaches you (which I scarcely think you are) I most earnestly beg your Attention to what follows.

I received Letters from *Rome* informing me, that my Friend *Milo* complains of my having done him a Prejudice in suffering *Philotimus* to become one of the Partners in the Purchase of his Effects (2). I was induced

(1) This I believe to be ironical, for it is impossible to be imagined, after what our Author has said upon *Pompey's* Character before, that he is in earnest here.

(2) This is a very black Part of our Author's Story, notwithstanding all he says here to excuse it. We have already seen from our Author himself, under what infinite Obligations he was to *Milo*, whom he treats as the greatest Man, the firmest Patriot, and the best Friend that *Rome* or the World beheld. But this excellent Person being, for the Murder of *Clodius*, condemned to Banishment, and his Estate being confiscated, this *Philotimus*, who was *Cicero's* creature and Dependent, with his Master's Privacy, and by his Command, buys
Milo's

duced to agree to this from the Opinion of *Caius Duronius*, whom I know to have the greatest Affection for *Milo*, and to answer the favourable Character you had given him. Now, the Result of his Consultation and mine, upon this Subject, was as follows. In the first Place, that the Thing might be intirely in our Power, least a spiteful, unconcerned Purchaser should rob *Milo* of a large Number of Slaves he had carried with him ; in the next Place, that the proper Provision, which he intended to make for his Wife, might be secur'd ; and we had it likewise in our Thought, that if any Thing could be saved for him, we could save it with the greatest Ease. Now I desire you to make yourself Master of the whole Affair ; for Matters are often exaggerated to us. But if *Milo* really complains, if he writes to his Friends on this Head, and if his Wife is of the same Way of thinking, (as I obtained a previous Promise of *Philotimus* for that effect) he shall not, against *Milo's* Consent, have any Concern with his Effects ; be my Engagement or Prospect what it will. I leave you to judge whether this is so mighty a Matter. You may talk with *Duronius* (1), for I have already written to *Camillus* and *Lamia*, and the rather because I was not absolutely sure of your being at *Rome*. In short, you are to make Friendship, Re-

Milo's Effects, though none but the most infamous and mercenary amongst the *Romans* ever were concerned in such Bargains. In short, notwithstanding what he says here, *Cicero*, as appears from several of his Letters, had a Share in the Spoil, the Goods being sold greatly under Value.

(1) *Duronius*, *Camillus*, *Lamia*. These were private Gentlemen of our Author and *Atticus*.

putation,

putation, and my Interest, the Rules of your Judgment.

EPIST. IX.

ON the 15th of *June*, I arrived at *Ægium* (1), after having feasted like pamper'd Priests at *Corcyra* and *Sybotæ* (2) upon your presents of Provisions, which were spread before us by *Æreus* (3), and my Friend *Eutychides*, in the most hearty hospitable Manner (4). As our Voyage was very uncomfortable, and as we saw we must have great Difficulty in doubling the Point of *Leucate* (5), we chose to go from *Ægium* by Land; but I thought it not quite so decent to approach *Patrae* in little Boats, and without my Equipages.

As you have taken every Opportunity of giving me your Advice on that Head, so it is my daily Study to inculcate upon my Dependents what I am determined to practise myself, I mean my execut-

(1) This was the Promontory of *Epirus*, so famous from the Defeat of *Antony* by *Octavius*, afterwards *Augustus Cæsar*.

(2) This was a Port in *Epirus*, opposite to the Isle of *Corcyra*.

(3) *Æreus* and *Eutychides* were Freedmen of *Atticus*.

(4) *Orig. φιλοπρεπιστατα. Benignissime.*

(5) *Leucate* was the Extremity of a promontory of *Epirus*, which was joined to the main Land by the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, which was so very narrow, that the *Corinthians* in the Infancy of their Navigation, and, when their Vessels were very small, used to carry them over it by Land to prevent doubling the Cape of *Leucate*, and they even cut a Canal through it, but it seems afterwards to have been choaked up. So late as our Author's Time Navigation was so imperfect, that Mariners durst not venture to lose sight of Land, which put them to infinite Labour in doubling Capes.

ing

ing this extraordinary Department (1) of Government, with the greatest Moderation and the greatest Forbearance. Let but the *Parthian* remain quiet, let but Fortune be on my Side, I will discharge my Duty. Let me know, I beg of you what you are a doing, let me know the several Stages of your intended Removals, in what Situation you left my Affairs at *Rome*, and above all Things, in what Manner you have settled my Debt of 5000 *l.* with *Oppius*. All this you may do within the Compass of a single Letter, which you are to forward so as that it may come to my Hands.

One Thing, however, I recommend to you in a more special Manner, (because though you are absent, now that it is not brought upon the Carpet, yet you write me you will be upon the Spot when it is) that you will make Interest with all our Friends, and especially *Hortensius*, that my Year may remain upon the Footing it is, without any new Prolongation. So earnest am I in this Request, that I am in some Doubt whether I should not desire you to make a Push against its being intercalated (2), but I dare not presume to lay all the Load upon your Shoulders. You are at least however to stick simply to the general Term of a Year.

(1) He got his Government out of common Course, because he ought to have had it immediately upon going out of his Consulship.

(2) It was in the Power of the Pontiffs occasionally to intercalate, or throw in an additional Number of Days into any Year, by which Means they often served their Friends by prolonging the Terms of their Government, and sometimes they prevented their Enemies by the same Means. This Practice became so much of a Job amongst the great Men of *Rome*, and introduced such Confusion into all public Dates and Times of Payment, as made it afterwards necessary for *Cæsar* to reform the Calendar.

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My dearest, my sweetest Boy *Cicero*, sends you his Compliments; you know I have always had an Affection for *Dionysius*; but it rises daily, and; by Heavens, one of its chief Motives is his Love for you, and his letting slip no Opportunity of mentioning you.

E P I S T. X.

AFTER reaching *Athens* on the 25th of *June*, I waited four Days for *Pontinius*, without hearing any certainty of his arrival. I was, believe me, wholly engrossed by you; and (tho' that used to be my Case without such Intimations) the Foot-steps of your Residence here, awakened me to a more lively Sense of your Remembrance. In short, by Heavens, I can speak of nothing but you; but lest you should chuse to hear somewhat of me, take it as follows. Hitherto neither I, nor any of my Retinue, have been any Expence to the Public or to Particulars; my People are so much convinced that this Conduct tends to raise my Glory, that we have taken none of the Appointments allowed by the *Julian* Law, nor any Thing from our Landlords. Thus far it is extreamly well, and my Modesty was no sooner observed, than it became the general Subject of Applause and Conversation amongst the *Greeks*. In short, I was the more earnest upon this Head, because I knew it would give you Pleasure, but I reserve my Applause till I wind up my Oration.

As to what remains, I cannot help often chiding myself for not finding out some Means or other to get rid of this Employment. An Employment
dis-

disagreeable to my Manners, and by which I experience the Truth of the *Greek* Proverb, "Every Man in his Way (1)."—What, say you, is all this for, you are not yet entered upon your Employment.—I am uninformed, and I imagine that the worst is yet to come. I endeavour (and I flatter myself with Success) to put a good Face upon the Matter ; but I am wrung to the Bottom of my Soul, so passionate, so insolent, so stupid is the Folly of every Kind, so arrogant the Talk, and so sullen the Silence, that I must daily put up with. I write you no Particulars ; not from any Desire to conceal them, but from my Inability to express them (2). You are therefore to admire the Frame of my Constitution (3), when I shall return in Safety, and how greatly I have exercised myself in the Study of Patience (4).

So much for those Matters—and yet I sat down with no professed Purpose of Writing to you upon Business, because I cannot form a Conjecture either of what you are doing, or where you are ; neither, upon my Soul, was I ever so long ignorant as to my own Affairs, or how my Accounts have been settled with *Cæsar* and with *Milo*. I am so far from seeing any Person to discourse with, that I do not hear, even a Whisper concerning public Matters at *Rome* ; you will therefore do me a great Kindness, if you will take Care to give me all the Information you can, as to Matters which you think I shall be glad to know. What have I far-

(1) *Orig. ἰσθὺς τίς. Exerceat quisque.*

(2) *Orig. δύσχεῖμα. Quæ vix educi possunt.*

(3) *Orig. βάθυτα. Profunditatem.*

(4) *Orig. μελέτη. Meditatio.*

ther to say? Nothing, take my Word for it, but that I am extremely delighted with *Athens*. The City itself, its Glory, the Affection of the Inhabitants for you, a certain Kindness they have for me, give me Pleasure. But above all (1), I had it in *Aristus* (2), my Landlord, who has realized the Academic Philosophy, if the whole of it is not like Moonshine in troubled Water. For I gave up your, or rather my, Friend *Zeno*, to my Brother *Quintus*, but as we were next Neighbours, we passed whole Days with one another. Let me know, as soon as you can, what you intend, how you proceed, and, above all, when you Design to return to *Rome*.

E P I S T. XI.

WHAT! Write so often to *Rome* and not a Scrap for you! Believe me that hereafter, provided I can secure a direct Conveyance, I will write to you impertinently rather than not at all. I conjure you, by all that you hold dear in Life, while you are at *Rome*, to take as much care as possibly you can, that there be no Prolongation of my provincial Government. My Impatience, to revisit *Rome*, is inexpressible, as are my Sufferings under the Stupidity of all I meet with here.

Marcellus has treated a Magistrate of *Comum* (3)
most

(1) *Orig. ἀνω κάτω. Sursum deorsum.*

(2) He was mentioned in other Works of our Author, and he was of the Academy, for the Tenets of which the Reader may consult our Author's Philosophical Works.

(3) The Case was this, *Cæsar*, during his Consulship, procured a Denizenation Bill to pass, entitling those who had served

most scandalously. But supposing that he had borne no Magistracy in that Town, yet still he lived beyond the *Po*; so that our common Friend (1), I imagine, will be as much disgusted as *Cæsar* himself can be, with this Insult. But let *Marcellus* look to that. It appeared to me likewise as if *Pompey* (according to what you wrote me *Varro* had said) would most certainly go to *Spain*. This Resolution, by no Means, met with my Approbation; I easily made *Theophanes* (2) sensible, that *Pompey* could do nothing better than to remain where he was.

Magistrates in the Colony he had established at *Como* to the *Jus Latii*, by which they became *Roman* Citizens. *Marcellus*, out of disrespect to *Cæsar*, laid hold of an Opportunity of whipping a Magistrate of *Como*, which was a Punishment incompatible with the Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen. But before *Cæsar* had obtained this Privilege for his Colony at *Como*, *Strabo Pompeius*, the Father of the great *Pompey*, had obtained the *Jus Latii* for all the Towns on the other Side of the *Po*. There seems however here to be some Inconsistency, not cleared up either by Monsieur *Morgault*, or any of the Commentators. For if the Colonies, beyond the *Po*, had the *Jus Latii* from *Strabo Pompeius*, why should *Cæsar* pass a Bill in Favour of that of *Como*, which lay beyond the *Po*? We can clear this up no other Way, than by attending to what is said by *Asconius*, in his Commentary upon one of the Fragments of our Author's Oration against *Piso*. There he tells us, that *Strabo Pompeius* gave the *Jus Latii* only to the ancient Colonists beyond the *Po*. *Pompeius enim*, says *Asconius*, *non novis Colonis eas constituit, sed veteribus Incolis manentibus jus dedit Latii*. But even this does not quite solve the Difficulty I have started, because, supposing this Magistrate of *Como* to have been a late Colonist, why should *Pompey* be displeased for not treating him as a *Roman* Citizen? We must therefore conclude, that the Hatred of *Marcellus*, against *Cæsar*, was so great, that he ordered this Person to be whipt without making any Enquiries, whether he was an old or a late Colonist. Even this Circumstance was enough to affront *Pompey*, and much more if he was found to be an old Colonist.

(1) Meaning *Pompey*.

(2) He was a learned *Greek* of *Mitylenæ*, and had great Credit with *Pompey*, whose Life he wrote.

That *Græcian*, therefore, will do all he can to detain him, and indeed I know that *Pompey* has a great Deference for his Opinion. I wrote this Letter on the 6th of *July*, the Day on which I left *Athens*, after staying there for ten Days. I there met with *Pontinius* and *Cnæus Volusius*, together with my Questor, so that none was absent of all I expected, excepting your Friend *Tullius*. You are to mind, that I had some flat-bottom'd (1) *Rhodian* Craft, with some (2) Barges of *Mitylenæ* and other Gallies for my Conveyance and Convoy. Not a Word of the *Partians*; Heavens grant it may long continue so.

I have hitherto past thro' *Greece* highly admir'd, nor have I the smallest Cause of Complaint against any of my Dependents, who behave as if they were perfectly sensible of my Character, my Circumstances, and the Terms on which they attend me. In short they do Credit to my Reputation. As to the future Part of their Conduct, it will be in Conformity with the present, if there is any Thing true in the Proverb, "like Master like Man (3);" for I am resolved they shall never see any Thing in my Conduct that shall give them any Encouragement to deviate from their Duty. But if my Example is not sufficient for this, I will have recourse to more severe Measures. Hitherto I have recommended myself by Gentleness, which, I flatter myself, has not been altogether unsuccessful. But all my Gentlemen say, that my Patience (4) cannot extend beyond the

(1) Orig. ἀφραγὰ. *Naves non Septas.*

(2) Orig. ἐπικωπος. *Remis instructum.*

(3) Orig. ὥς γ' ἡ δίσκωσα. *Qualis Hera.*

(4) Orig. ἀνξία. *Tolerantiam.*

Year. I therefore beg you, my Friend, to use all your Interest, that I may not hazard any Disgrace by a Prolongation of that Term.

I now return to your Commissions, you will please to excuse me for not having mentioned to you my Prefects (1); you may Name in their Commission whom you please; for I shall not be so squeamish in that Affair, as I have been with Regard to *Apuleius*. I love *Xeno* as well as you love him, and I am convinced he is sensible of it. I have done your Recommendation great Honour with *Patro*, and the other choice Spirits (2), with a View, take my Word for it, to replace my Obligations to you. For *Patro* told me that you had wrote to

(1) I am not quite satisfied with Monsieur *Mongault's* Translation of this Passage which he reads as follows. *In Præstitis excusatio, iis quos voles, deserto. Non ero tam περρωπος (animi suspecti et dubii) quam in Apuleio fui*, which he translates, *Il faut que vous m'excusiez si je n'ai point fait Apuleius Préfet; je serai moins difficile pour tout autre, & vous pouvez me donner qui il vous plaira*. The Reading, in the Original it is true, is irretrievable, but I think Monsieur *Mongault* has taken too great Liberty, even with the Translation in his own Reading. I have regarded his Reading, but I have given it a Turn in the Translation, which I think does less Violence than his does to the Original, and is more defensible in Point of Propriety.

(2) *Orig. Reliquos Barones*. I shall not here trouble my Reader with any of the many learned Expositions of this Word, farther than it relates to our Author's Meaning here. It appears pretty plainly to have been of celtic Original, and to have signified a Man of Weight. But as is the common Case of conquer'd Countries, the *Romans* sometimes gave this Title a contemptible Turn, as if it signified a heavy Man. Notwithstanding this, the Word seems to have been in such general Use all over Europe, that it still retained with it a certain Dignity, as appears by other Parts of our Author's Works. In this Place, however, he certainly means the Followers of *Epicurus* at *Athens*, and his Application of it to them is equivocal and pleasant enough. I have translated it in that equivocal Sense.

him three Times informing him, that it was on Account of his Letters that I took any Concern in that Affair, a Circumstance which he took very kindly. But when *Patro* had applied to me to solicit your *Areopagus* for a Repeal of a Decree (1), made under the Prætor *Polycharmus*, *Xeno*, and afterwards *Patro* himself, thought it much more adviseable for me to write to *Memmius*, who went to *Mitylenæ*, the Day before I came to *Athens*, to persuade him to inform his Friends by Letters, that he would not oppose the Repeal; for *Xeno* was sensible that it never could have been obtained from the *Areopagus*, against the Consent of *Memmius*. Now *Memmius* himself had laid aside the Thoughts of Building, but still he was picqued at *Patro*. I was therefore at great Pains in writing him the Letter of which I have sent you a Copy.

I beg that you will present my Compliments of Condolence (2) to *Pilia*. I will tell you the Affair, but you need not mention it to her. I received

(1) *Orig.* ὑπομνηματισμὸν. *Decretum*. The Case was this, *Memmius*, who had been banished from *Rome*, and who resided at *Athens*, had obtained leave from the *Areopagus*, or the Magistracy of that City, to build a House upon the Ground, on which the House of *Epicurus* had stood, and where its Ruins were still to be seen. The *Epicureans* took this amiss, and made use of the Interest of *Titius* with our Author, to engage the latter to obtain a Repeal of this Order of the *Areopagus*, which indeed was pretty arbitrary, as *Epicurus* had left his House and Gardens to the future Professors of his Sect. This, as appears from our Author's Letter to *Memmius*. Ep. Fam. Lib. 13. Ep. 1. was strongly urged by *Patro*, who seems to have been the chief of the *Epicureans* at *Athens*.

(2) This seems to have been a private Story, and is not worth the Pains Commentators have bestowed upon it. It is possible *Cicero* might break this Letter up by Mistake. My only Difficulty is why he shou'd desire her Husband to condole with her in his Name, and at the same Time conceal the Cause of that Condolence,

a Packet in which was a Letter from her, I seiz'd, open'd, and read it, and indeed it was most feelingly (1) wrote. If at *Brundisium* you received Letters, without any from me, it must have been at a Time when I was indispos'd, for I will not desire you to accept of a hackney'd (2) Apology. Let me know every Thing, and especially how you are in Health.

E P I S T. XII.

A Voyage is a dreadful Thing, even in the Month of *July*. After six Days Sail we came to *Delos* (3) from *Athens*. On the 6th of *July*, the Wind was unfavourable, and we came from *Pyræus* (4) to *Zoster* (5), where we were Wind-bound all the next Day. On the 8th we had a pleasant Voyage to *Ceos*, from whence we reach'd *Gyarus* (6) with a brisk Gale in our Back, which carried us, sooner than we wish'd for, to *Scyrus* (7), and from thence to *Delus*. You are no Stranger to the flat-bottom'd Boats (8) of *Rhodes*, and how ill-fitted they are to bear a swell of Sea. Therefore I was in no hurry to proceed, or to move, from *Delos*, without knowing where abouts the Land lay (9).

(1) Orig. συμπαθώς. *Dolenter.*

(2) Orig. νομαδικίας. *Vulgarem.*

(3) This was an Island, the chief of those which are called the *Cyclades* in the *Archipelago*.

(4) *Pyræus* was a Port of *Athens*.

(5) A Promontory of *Attica*.

(6) These were two Islands in the *Ægean Sea*.

(7) This was another of the *Cyclades*.

(8) Orig. ἄφρακτα. *Naves non septas.*

(9) Orig. ἀνεπηρώτων ὄψεις. *Cacuminum secundos flatus.*

I wrote you from *Gyarus* concerning *Messala* (1) the Moment that I heard of his Affair, together with my Opinion upon it to *Hortensius* likewise. I paid him my sincere Compliments of Condolence (2), but I impatiently wait for your Account of what is said concerning that Trial of his Nephew, and concerning the State of the Public. I expect you to write like a consummate Statesman (3), because I know you are reading my political Works along with our Friend *Tballumetus*: If so, I shall know from you not only present, but future, Contingencies; for even your *Client*, the very grave *Helenius* could instruct me as to the Former. I expect, that before this comes to your Hand, the Consuls will be chosen, and that you will be able to form a Judgment concerning *Cæsar*, *Pompey*, and even of the Courts of Judicature.

As you love me, I beg you will finish my Affairs, since you are to remain at *Rome*. I entreat that you will take care of the Brick-work-Conduit, which I neglected to mention in answer to yours. Pray do, in your usual obliging Manner, all that can be done concerning the Water, which, from what occurs to myself as well as from what you suggest, I conceive to be a vast Conveniency; you will therefore take Care that somewhat may be done, No more—but that I beg you will give to *Philip-*

(1) He had been tried for undue Practices in coming to the Consulship, and, though he had been once acquitted, he was found guilty upon a second Trial, and sent into Banishment, notwithstanding all that his Uncle *Hortensius*, the famous Orator could do to save him.

(2) Orig. *συγγυῖων*. *Condolebam*.

(3) Orig. *πολιτικώτερος*. *Ut decet virum tractanda Reipublicæ peritum*.

pus, your Assistance, if he has asked for it in his Affair. When I am settled, I will write you more fully. At present I am surrounded by the Sea.

EPIST. XIII.

ON the 22d of *July*, 560 Days after the Battle of *Bovilla* (1), I came to *Ephesus*, after a pleasant, amusing, Voyage, tho' somewhat slow on Account of the Heaviness of the *Rhodian* flat-bottom'd Boats. I make no doubt you have heard (else what does it all signify to me?) of the Concourse, of Deputations, of private Persons, and the amazing Multitudes that met me at *Samos* (2), but waited upon me in a more wonderful Manner at *Ephesus*. You must know, however, that our Farmers of the Public received me as if I had been the Governor of the Province, and the *Greeks*, with the same Satisfaction as they would have done the Prætor of *Ephesus*. From which you will infallibly conclude, that I was now brought to the Proof, in my own Person, of all the specious Doctrine I had taught for so many Years. But I am in Hopes to practise those Exercises I have learned from you, that I shall keep well with all; and this will be the more practicable for me, as my Province has already finished its Contract with the Farmers.—Here

(1) This was the Rencontre in which *Clodius* was killed by *Milo*, and from which our Author affects to date as being a remarkable *Epocha* for himself and his Country.

(2) This Island lay opposite to *Ephesus*, which was a *Roman* Government, and it had been long a Maxim preached up by *Cicero*, that a wise *Roman* Patriot would behave in such a Manner as to reconcile, to himself, the Affections of all Ranks of Men.

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I must cut short, for *Sestius*, the Bearer of this, while I am at Supper, tells me he is to set out this very Night.

I have taken Care of all your little Affairs at *Ephe-sus*, and I have strongly recommended *Philogenes* and *Sejus* to the Favour of *Thermus* (1), tho', before my Arrival, he was most liberal of his Promises to all your Dependants; and I have likewise recommended to him *Xeno* of *Apollonis*. In short, he has absolutely promised to do all you can Desire; I have likewise settled with *Philogenes* the Account of that Money I borrowed from you.

So much for those Matters. Now for Town Affairs. By all you hold dear, as you are to remain at *Rome*, I conjure you to make it a strong, and an indispensable, Preliminary, that my Commission be not protracted beyond the Year, and, that too, not intercalated. You are then to apply to my other Concerns which I recommended to you, particularly the Family-Affair (2), which you know I have so much at Heart, and my Transactions with *Cæsar*, to whose Friendship I applied, by your Advice, without repenting me as yet of the Connection. And if you have the least Notion how curious, how anxious I am to be informed of all public Transactions—public Transactions do I say, nay, of all possible Contingencies, let me know every Thing in the most particular Manner. Above all Things, let me have an Account of the Trials past, present, and to come (3). Pray inform me concern-
ing

(1) He had, during that and the preceding Year, been Governor of *Asia*, after serving as Prætor in *Rome*.

(2) Probably the Marriage of his Daughter.

(3) *Orig. In primis ecquid Judiciorum status aut factorum, aut futurorum*

ing the Water I wrote of, whether it has been minded, or what *Philippus* is doing in that Matter.

E P I S T. XIV.

U Ntil such Time as I shall settle in some Place, you are not to expect that my Letters will either be very long, or always writ with my own Hand; but they shall be both the one and the other, as soon as I have leisure. I have just finished a most sultry, dusty, Stage. Yesterday I wrote you from *Ephesus*, and this comes from *Tralles*. I expect to reach my Province by the 1st of *August*, from which Day, if you love me, you are to reckon the Year's Continuance (1) of my Government. In the mean while, it luckily happens to me, in the first Place, that the *Parthians* are quiet, that the Contract of my Province is finished with the Farmers, that *Appius* (2) has quelled the Mutiny of the Soldiers, and that they are paid up to the 15th of *July*. We were received in *Asia* with prodigious Affection, for our Progress cost not a Farthing even to the meanest Inhabitant. I am in Hopes that all my Dependents have done Honour to my Character; I am not however without alarming Apprehensions, and yet I hope for the best. All my Retinue are now arrived, excepting your Friend *Tul-*

futurorum etiam laboret. Meaning the Trials of undue Practices amongst Candidates for public Offices, encouraged, and set on foot by *Pompey* the Year before.

(1) Orig. *παράγγελμα ἡγεμόνων.* *Mandatum de anno.*

(2) He was *Cicero's* Predecessor in the Government of *Cilicia*.

lius,

lius, I was once thinking to go directly to the Army, that I might spend the remaining Summer-Season in military, and the Winter in civil, Duties.

As you know me to be as anxious about the Public as you are yourself, I beg you will write me every Thing as it is, and is likely to be. You cannot oblige me more, unless by finishing what I gave you in Commission, and especially that domestic Concern (1), which you know lies nearest to my Heart. Thus I finish this hasty, dusty, Letter. Hereafter I will write you more particularly.

E P I S T. XV.

ON the last of *July* I came to *Laodicea*, and from that Day you are to reckon (2) the Year of my Government. Nothing could be more dear or desirable than my Arrival here was, and yet you cannot imagine how sick I already am of this Employment. Here my Genius, to which you are no Stranger, has not Scope enough for its Operations, nor can my Studies here display their beautiful Effects. Yes! a fine Thing it is for me to de-

(1) *Orig. ἰδιαιμενον. Arcanum domesticum.*

(2) *Orig. Ex hoc die Clavum anni movebis.* This Expression has an Allusion to one Manner of reckoning Years amongst the Romans, that of moving a Nail, which had the Year before been driven into the Gate of the Temple of *Minerva*, and driving it a fresh into another Place of the Gate, and thus the Number of Holes served as a Reckoning from the Number of Years. *Laodicea* being the first Town of his Province to which *Cicero* arrived, he desires that the Term of his Government may be fixed from the Day on which he entered that Town.

termine

termine Causes at *Laodicea*, while *Plotius* (1) determines them at *Rome*, and while a certain Friend of ours is at the Head of a great Army, that I have the Command of two nominal, weak, Legions. But those are not the Matters that I regret. I regret the Loss of my conspicuous Station, of the Forum of *Rome*, of my Family, and of you my Friend. I will however do the best I can to bear with all, provided it be but for a Year, but all beyond that will be death to me. If you remain at *Rome*, such a Prolongation, however, may be guarded against.

You ask me what I do here? why, I answer, I live up to a vast Expence. So much am I charm'd with my Plan of Conduct, and so scrupulously do I follow your Doctrine of Disinterestedness, that I am in Danger of borrowing Money to pay the Sum

(1) The whole of this Passage is excessively fullsome. The *Plotius*, here spoken of, seems to have been the same who was this Year Prætor at *Rome*, and our Author perhaps had no great Opinion of his Abilities compared to his own. As to the General, hinted at here, it is not so easy to say who he was, some Commentators think he means *Cassius*, but that will not agree with his Circumstances, for he was then at the Head of a very inconsiderable Number collected from the Ruins of the Army of *Crassus*. Monsieur *Mongault* thinks he means *Cæsar*, but I cannot be of that Opinion. It is true, he sometimes affects to call *Cæsar* his Friend, but the Friend, here mentioned, is certainly a Person who commanded a great Army, and of whom our Author had a hearty Contempt. This therefore agrees better with *Pompey*, whom he frequently affects to call his Friend, whom he greatly despised, and who was at the Head of the Army at *Rome*, in the same Manner as *Plotius* was at the Head of the Law. Add to this, that the Word *noster* points out a common Friend to *Atticus* as well as our Author, which, when we consider our Author's Manner is scarcely applicable to *Cæsar*, though it is highly so to *Pompey*. The Passage brought by Monsieur *Mongault*, in favour of his own Opinion, seems to make against himself, and to strengthen my Conjecture in this. *Itaque Cæsar's Amici*, says he in a former Epistle, Lib. 4. Ep. 16. (*Me dico et Oppium: dirumparis licet.*)

you lent me, I do not rip up the Sores of *Appius*, but they are too evident to be concealed. On this 3d of *August*, at the Time of writing those Letters, I set out from *Laodicea* for the Camp at *Licaonia*(1), from whence I resolve to march to *Taurus* (2), and then, with Colours displayed, I will endeavour to demand your Slave from *Maragenes* (3).

Believe me, I look like an Ox under a Pack-saddle, a Plague upon my Drivers(4)! I will, however, bear my Load, but, as you love me, let it not be beyond the Year. Attend at the Time at *Rome*: Rouse the whole Senate in my Favour: You cannot imagine how uneasy I am at being so long without News from thence. Therefore, as I have often desired you by my Letters, take Care to acquaint me with every Thing, especially what concerns the Public. Shall I write more as my Letter is to be so long upon the Road? The Bearer however, *Caius Andronicus* is my Friend and familiar Acquaintance (5). For your Part you have frequent Opportunities of Conveyance. Some, thro' the Receivers of the Grass-Rents (6) and the Out-skirts of my Government, by

(1) This was a Province of *Asia Minor*.

(2) A Mountain lying between *Cilicia* and *Capadocia*.

(3) This is a private Piece of Raillery, scarce recoverable at this Time. It seems this *Maragenes* was a *Parthian*, who had entertained a fugitive Slave belonging to *Atticus*.

(4) This was a proverbial Expression, and I read it according to the Proverb, *viz. Clitellæ bovi sunt impositæ, Cillane non est nostrum onus*. The *Cillanus* was the Driver of Mules or Asses.

(5) The Original is here very uncertain; I read, *Plura scribam tarde reddituro? Sed dabam familiari homini, ac domestico, Caio Andronico Puteolano*.

(6) *Orig. Per magistros scripturæ, et portus nostrorum dia-cesium*.

which

which you can send your Letters to the Packets of the Farmers of the Revenue.

E P I S T. XVI.

THough the Packets of the Farmers of the Revenue set out while I was upon my Journey on the public Road, and even in haste, yet have I snatched this short Time, lest you should think me unmindful of what you recommended to me. I therefore sat down upon the very Road, to write you a short Account of Matters, which require a longer Explanation. Be it known to you, that on the last Day of *July*, I arrived at this my undone, and irrecoverably ruined, Province, where I was most impatiently expected. I remained three Days at *Laodicea*, three at *Apamea*, and three at *Synnade* (1), and in all those Places I heard of nothing but of their Inability to pay their Poll and Capitation-Taxes (2), of their selling all their Town Revenues, in short, my Ears were struck with the Groans and the Cries of the People, which indicate the Government of a Brute rather than of a Man. But no more—I am shocked with the life those Inhabitants lead; their Misery, however, receives some Alleviation, that they have been at no Expence upon me or my Deputies, nor my Questor, nor any of my Retinue. You must know that I refused to accept, not only of Pay and other Perquisites allowed by the *Julian*

(1) These were three Towns of *Phrygia Accassiana*.

(2) *Orig. Audivimus nihil aliud, nisi imperata ἐπιειράλια (exactionem capitum) solvere non posse: πάντα (Possessiones) omnium venditas.*

Law, but even of Wood ; nor put I any Man to farther Expence, than that of furnishing me with four Beds and a Lodging ; nay in many Places I was without a Lodging, and generally passed the Night in a Tent. Incredible therefore was the Crowd to meet me from the Country, the Towns, and all the Houses round. Even my Arrival, by Heavens, seems to give them new Life. Could you but hear how they extol the Justice, the Disinterestedness and the Clemency of your dear *Cicero*, and how greatly he has surpassed their fondest Expectations ! —

As soon as my Predecessor heard of my Arrival, he retired as far as *Tarjuz*, the remotest Part of all the Province, where he still exercises his judicial Capacity. Not a Word concerning the *Partians*, and yet some People, who came from those Parts, mention that a Party of our Horse has been cut off by those Barbarians. It has not, as yet, so much as entered into the Head of *Bibulus* to repair to his Government ; because, say some, he intends to remain the longer in it. I am now two Days Journey from the Camp, to which I am posting.

E P I S T. XVII.

I Received from *Rome* a Packet without any Letter from you. This is an Omission which I cannot impute to you but to *Philotimus*, I mean if you have kept your Health and was at *Rome*. I have dictated this Epistle, sitting in my Chaise, in my Journey to my Camp, which I can reach in two Days.

Days. Some Days hence I shall have Bearers, to whom I can with Safety entrust my Letters. I have therefore reserved what I have to say for them. With Regard to myself (though I could wish that you heard it rather from another) so disinterested is my Conduct in my Province, that I have not taken a Farthing from any Man. No more have my Legates, Tribunes and Prefects; so punctual are they to my Orders, and so zealous (1) of my Glory. *Lepta* (2) behaves wonderfully to me. But I am now in haste, a few Days hence, I will write you every Thing.

The younger *Dejotarus*, who has received the Title of King from the Senate, has carried my two *Cicero*'s, my Nephew, and my Son, with him, into his Kingdom, which I thought the most convenient Residence for the Boys while I was in the Field. *Sestius* (3) has informed me by Letters of his Conversation with you about my domestic, and dearest, Concern, and of your Opinion concerning the same. As you love me, ply yourself to that Matter, and write me what can be done in it, and what you think of it. He writes me likewise, that *Hortensius* has talked somewhat about prolonging the Time of my Government. But *Hortensius* himself told me, when he saw me at *Cumæ*, he would most strenuously endeavour that my Government should be but of one Year's standing. If you love me, secure to me this Point. My Unwillingness to be absent from you is inexpressible; and by my speedily finishing my Commission, I am

(1) Orig. συμφιλοδοξῶν. *Simul inserviant.*

(2) He served in the Nature of chief Engineer in *Cicero*'s Army.

(3) See Page 164, Note 2.

in hopes that my glorious Character for Justice and Disinterestedness will become the more illustrious. This was the Case with *Scævola*, who governed *Asia* for no more than nine Months.

When our Friend *Appius* understood that I was approaching, he removed from *Laodicea* as far as *Tarsus*, where he acts in a judicial Capacity, though I am in the Province, an Affront to me which I am far from resenting; for I am sufficiently employed in healing the Wounds which this Government has received, and which I endeavour to do, as little as possibly I can, to his Discredit. But I desire you will let our Friend *Brutus* (1) know, that *Appius* has not done quite so handsomely by me in retiring upon my Approach to the other Extremity of the Province.

E P I S T. XVIII.

HOW earnestly do I wish you to be at *Rome*, if you are not there; for I know nothing for certain, but I received your Letters dated the 19th of *July*, informing me, that you was to set out for *Epirus* about the 1st of *August*. But be that as it will, whether this finds you in *Rome* or *Epirus*, you must know that the *Parthians* under the Command of *Pacorus*, the Son of their King *Orodes* (2), have passed the *Euphrates* with almost their whole Army. We have yet had no Accounts of *Bibulus*, being in *Syria*, and *Cassius* continues shut up with all his

(1) He was Son-in-Law to *Appius*.

(2) This was the Prince who defeated *Craſſus* the Year before.

Army

Army in the Town of *Antiochia*. I am now in *Capadocia*, near Mount *Taurus*, at the Town of *Cybisra* with my Army, and the Enemy is in *Cyrrhestica*, which is the nearest Part of *Syria* to my Province.

I have written an Account of all those Matters to the Senate, but, if you are at *Rome*, you will peruse my Letter before-hand, and consider whether it is proper to be presented. You are to think for me upon a great many other Points, nay upon all; the main one (1) is, that no Advantage be taken of us by any random Conduct (2) to encrease the Business, or to prolong the Term, of my Government. The Truth is, situated as I am, my Army weak, and my Allies (especially faithful ones) few, the Winter will prove my greatest Safety. If, before that Time, they should not attack my Province, I am only afraid lest the Senate's Apprehensions from the domestic State of their Affairs may then be so great, that they will not suffer *Pompey* to leave them (3). But if they send another towards the Spring, without prolonging my Term, I shall be indifferent.

You must know then (whether you are at *Rome*, or from it, or going to it, matters not) my present Situation is as follows. I am in good Spirits, and, as I think, I have made all the proper Dispositions. I have no small Reliance on my Strength; my Camp is strong, and convenient for Forage, it lies on the very Frontiers of *Cilicia*, and all our Posts can be easily changed. My Army is indeed small, but I flatter

(1) Orig. κεφάλαιον. *Caput*.

(2) Orig. *Inter casa et porreza*.

(3) He was designed to command in chief against the *Parthians*.

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myself, entirely well affected to me, and when *De-satarus* arrives with all his Forces, their Numbers will be then doubled. No General ever had the same Advantages with regard to the good Dispositions of my Allies; so greatly are they charmed by my Affability and Moderation. I am now putting Arms into the Hands of our *Roman* Citizens, and raising Magazines of Provisions, from the Country, in the fortified Places of my Government. Thus, I am prepared to fight, if a fair Opportunity presents, or to act upon the defensive if I chuse it.

You have no Reason therefore to be discouraged, for well do I know you, and I can see you melt (1) with Tenderneſs, as plainly as if you were before my Eyes. But I beg you to do all that lies in your Power to be at *Rome* in the Month of *January*, if nothing should be done by the Senate in my Buſineſs 'till the 1ſt of that Month. Never can I ſuffer Prejudice while you are preſent. The Conſuls are my Friends, the Tribune *Furnius* is my Friend; but ſtill I muſt rely, in that delicate Conjuncture, upon your Aſſiduity, Experience and Intereſt. It becomes not me, however, to uſe many Words with you.

Our two *Cicerones* are with *Dejotarus*, but if there ſhould be Occaſion, they can be conveyed to *Rhodes*. If you are at *Rome*, be as punctual, as uſual, in your Correſpondence; but if you are in *Epirus* ſend ſome of your Domeltics expreſs to me, that you may know my Situation, and that I may know what you are a doing, and what you intend to do. I

(1) *Orig. συμπάθειαν. Conſenſum.*

to ATTICUS.

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am more assiduous about the Affair of *Brutus* (1) than he would himself be, were he here in Person. But I am now to give up my Guardianship, and to have no farther Concern with my Pupil, so perplexed and disordered are his Affairs. I shall, notwithstanding, act so as to please you; which is doing more than pleasing him; I shall act, however, I hope, to the Contentment of both.

E P I S T. XIX.

I HAD just sealed the Letter, which I suppose you have got by this Time, all written with my own Hand, and giving an Account of whatever concerns me, when all of a sudden a Courier from *Appius* on the 21st of *September*, brought me your Letter in forty seven Days from *Rome* (what a Distance of Time and Place!) and yet the Fellow came express. From its Strain I make no Doubt, that after waiting for *Pompey's* Return from *Ariminum*, you are now set out for *Epirus*, and I can be easily sensible of the Concern you hint at, which must be as great to you in *Epirus* as it is to me here. I have written to *Philotimus* that he should not call upon *Messala*, for that Debt of *Attelicus*. I am glad that the Fame of my Progress has reached you, and shall be still more so, when you are acquainted with all the Circumstances. I share in the Pleasure which you take in your little Daughter at *Rome*, and

(1) This relates to Money that was due to *Brutus* from *Ariobarzanes*, the young King of *Cappadocia*, whose Father having been murdered, *Cicero*, by Order of the Senate, acted as a Kind of Tutor for the Son.

T a'

though

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though I never saw her, yet I have conceived an Affection for her, and I believe her to be so amiable, that she deserves it. I have bid an eternal adieu to *Patro* and your fellow Students. I am extremely glad that you are pleased with the Order I have taken during my Campaign about the *Tarentine* Squadron (1). As to what you write me of your being pleased with the Repulse of a Person (2), who presumed to enter the Lists with the Uncle of your Sister's Son, it is to me a fresh Proof of your great Affection. You therefore did right to let me know it, that I may partake in your Joy, for it never could have come into my Mind. You will say, perhaps, you do not believe that. That you may chuse to do, or not, as you please. It is true for all that; for there is a great Difference between Indignation (3) and Envy (4).

E P I S T. XX.

ON the Morning of the 17th of *December*, *Pindenissa* (5) surrendered to me, being the forty seventh Day after the Commencement of the Siege.

(1) They were a Kind of Light Horse which served in the *Roman* Armies, and had their Name from *Tarentum*, where their Order was first instituted, every one of the Soldiers of those Horse had two Horses, one of which he rode, and another he led, and they were so expert in Riding, that they could vault from the Back of one upon the other.

(2) This was *Hirrus*, who had opposed *Cicero* when he stood for the Augurship, and who had been lately disappointed of the *Ædileship*.

(3) *Orig.* τὸ νεισιζῶν. *Indignatio*.

(4) *Orig.* τῇ φθονίᾳ. *Ab invidia*

(5) This was the Capital of that Part of *Cilicia* which was unsubdued by the *Romans*.

A Plague

A Plague lay upon that *Pindenissa*, for till now I never heard its Name, what Place is it?—How can I answer you? Can I convert our *Cilicia* into a Theatre of War, as celebrated as is (1) *Ætolia* or *Macedonia*? You must know, at present, however, that I could undertake no such Actions as have been performed there, with such an Army as I command here. I will therefore give you a summary Account (2) of the whole; for so you give me Leave to write in your last Letters.

You know in what Manner I arrived at *Ephesus*; you even congratulated me upon the crowded Honours I that Day received, and indeed nothing ever gave me greater Pleasure. The Towns through which I passed, after leaving *Ephesus*, received me with wonderful Distinctions, and on the last of *July*, I arrived at *Laodicea*, where I staid for two Days. There I shone away, and my obliging Expressions plucked up the very Roots of former Disgusts. I afterwards passed five Days at *Apamea*, three at *Synnada*, five at *Philomelum*, and ten at *Iconium*, and all this Time nothing could be more equitable, nothing more gentle, nothing more exemplary, than my Administration was.

From *Iconium* I went, on the 26th of *August*, to my Army, and, four Days after, I reviewed it near that Place. Some disagreeable News arriving concerning the *Partians*, I decamped from thence

(1) Monsieur *Mongault*, with all his Accuracy, seems not perfectly to have attended to *Cicero's* Meaning in this Passage. For the *tanta Negotia* is evidently put in Opposition to the great Actions performed by *Atticus's* favourite *Greeks* upon those two celebrated Theatres of War *Ætolia* and *Macedon*, with which *Atticus* was so well acquainted.

(2) *Orig.* ἐν ἑνὶ τομῇ. *Summatim*.

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towards *Cilicia*, through that Part of *Cappadocia* that borders upon *Cilicia*, with a View of making *Artavafdes* the *Armenian*, and the *Partians* themselves, sensible that they were shut out from all Access to *Cappadocia*. After being encamped for five Days at *Cybisra* in *Cappadocia*, I had certain Intelligence that the *Partians* were at a great Distance from that Frontier of *Cappadocia*, and that they rather pointed at *Cilicia* itself. I therefore immediately marched for *Cilicia*, through the Defiles of Mount *Taurus*. On the 5th of *October* I reached *Tarsus*, from whence I marched towards Mount *Amanus*, the Ridge of which sheds its Waters on the one Side upon *Syria*, and on the other upon *Cilicia*, and the Mountain itself was generally filled with our eternal Enemies, of whom we killed a great Number on the 13th of *October*. By ordering *Pontinius* to advance against them in the Night-Time, and by my attacking them in the Morning, I took and burnt their Camp which was very strong. I was then saluted Captain-General.

For a few Days, I possessed that very Camp which *Alexander* (who by the bye was a good deal better Captain than either you or I) held against *Darius*, near the River *Iffus*. After staying there for five Days, and plundering and ravaging Mount *Amanus*, I moved my Quarters. Now, you know, there are such Things as are termed the Panics and Terrors of War (1). The Fame of my March gave

(1) Monsieur *Mongault* seems likewise to have misunderstood this Passage. The Original is *Scis enim dici quedam πανικα* (*Terrores pannicos*) *dici item τὰ κενὰ τῶ πολέμου* (*inanes belli terrores*.) But other Copies read *Interim scis*, which I more approve of. Monsieur *Mongault* translates the whole Passage *Car*
vous

gave great Spirits to *Cassius*, who was shut up in *Antioch*, and daunted the *Parthians* so much, that they retreated from the Town, and *Cassius*, followed them with great Execution. In their Flight *Osaces*, one of their Generals, a Man of great Authority amongst them, received a Wound, of which he died in three Days. This raised my Reputation in *Syria*, and in the mean Time *Bibulus* arrived. He wanted, I suppose, to be on the same Footing with me, as to the empty Title of Captain-General, and he therefore set out in quest of a cheap Purchase of Laurels (1) upon the same Mount *Amanus*. But he lost all his first Battalion, with the Centurion of the first Company, one of the best Officers of his Rank, *Asinius Dento*, with other Officers of the same Corps, together with *Sextus Lucilius*, a Colonel in his Army, Son to *Titus Gavius Sæpio*, a Man of

vous savez qu'à la guerre il faut craindre les surprises, & ne pas trop tenter la fortune. But I cannot, for my Life, conceive why *Cicero* should be apprehensive of those Panics and Terrors seizing his own Army. I have therefore applied them to that of the *Parthians*, and indeed the natural Connection of the Sense directs me so to do, and likewise destroys, in a great Measure, a Charge brought by Monsieur *Mongault* against our Author's Veracity, in ascribing to his own March the Defeat of the *Parthians*. For, as I have translated the Words this Charge vanishes, and he says no more to his Friend than that the Effects of Panics and Terrors are very strong in Armies, which might be the Reason why the *Parthians*, hearing of his great Successes, had raised the Siege. And indeed to speak candidly, a General of much greater Experience and less Vanity than our Author possessed, might have fallen, in like Circumstances, into the like Mistake, if it was a Mistake; for I neither see any Absurdity in supposing the *Parthians* to have been alarmed with his March, nor any Vanity in his believing that they were, as we cannot suppose him, when he wrote this Letter, to have been informed of the Truth of this Affair, and of the Stratagem which *Dion* tells us *Cassius* made use of on this Occasion.

(1) *Orig. Laureolam in mustaceo querere.*

Figure and Fortune. This, it must be owned, was an ugly Blow, both as to the Juncture and Consequences.

I then invested, with a Trench and a Ditch, *Pindenissa*, the strongest Town of all the unsubdued *Cilicia*. The Inhabitants had been, Time out of Mind, in arms against us; they were hardy and desperate, and provided with every Thing necessary to make a vigorous Defence. By the Help of a very large Mound, cover'd Galleries, a lofty Tower, a large Train of Engines, a Number of Archers, and toilsome Dispositions, I carried my Point without any considerable loss, though I had many wounded. You may be sure this Success heightened the Jollity of our Holidays, especially as I reserved, from the Soldiers, none of the Booty but the Horses. The Slaves were sold upon the 19th of *December*, and, while I write this upon my Bench of Justice, the Money for them already amounts to 100,000 l. I then gave the Command of my Army to my Brother *Quintus*, with orders that they should take up their Winter Quarters in the worst affected Part of the Province, while I retired to *Laodicea*. So much for those Matters, but let me return to what preceded them.

As to your earnest, and (which is more weighty with me than any Thing else) your anxious, Recommendation, that I should not give the least Handle, even to the Declaimers against Avarice (1), let me die,

(1) *Orig. Ut etiam Ligurinus pupus (Reprehenfori) satisfaciam.* Monsieur *Mongault*, in his Note upon this Passage, inclines to think that *Cicero* had *Hortensius* in his Eye, and other Commentators think that he had *Cato*. I cannot believe that he had either. It is true, the Epithet *Ligurinus* agrees very well with *Hortensius*, who

die, if any Thing could be avoided more handsomely, than I have done that, yet I do not call this Conduct, Self-denial, because Self-denial is a Virtue that implies the Mortification of our Appetites. For my own Part, nothing in Life touches me with equal Pleasure as a Conduct so disinterested. The Glory, attending such Virtue, gives me less Joy than the Virtue itself. Believe me my Joy was so great, that it taught me the Knowledge of myself, for I had not else known what I was capable of upon this Head. Give me then my just Merit (2), sure nothing can be more noble. Amidst this Splendour (3) of my Actions I have the Glory, that, through me, *Ariobarzanes* lives and reigns. For, by the bye (4), I preserved that Prince on his Throne through my Conduct and Authority, and his Traitors found me not only incorruptible (5), but inaccessible (6). Mean while I have not drawn the Value of a Straw from *Cappadocia*, and I hope that, through the whole Year of my Government, I shall not put my Province to the Expence of a single Farthing. I have retrieved the Debt, due to who knew all the Quirks of speaking, as the Term *Momus* does with *Cato*, who always made use of very free Language. But nothing can be more distant than the Character of *Momus* is from that of *Hortensius*, whom our Author is perpetually blaming for disguising his hatred towards him, and nothing can suit worse than *Ligurinus* with the Character of *Cato*, who was the Mirrour of plain Dealing. I have therefore given the Expression a general Turn and a different Sense. *Liguri* signifies to lick, and is a Metaphor taken from the Lickishness of the Chops of a Dog when any Thing is in his View that he cannot come at. Upon the whole, I should like the Reading *Liguri-entem Momum*, if I could find it authorized by any Manuscript.

(2) Orig. *παρασώματι*. *Turgro*.

(3) Orig. *λαμπρά*, *Splendida*.

(4) Orig. *ἐν παραδροῇ*. *In transcurso*.

(5) Orig. *ἀδωροδοκῆτος*. *Incorruptum Largitione*.

(6) Orig. *ἀπρόσιτος*. *Non facilem aditu*.

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Brutus, as far as I could, after he thought it was desperate ; I love him him as much as you love him, I was a going to say, as much as I love you.

Now I have told you every Thing, and I am preparing to dispatch my public Letters for *Rome*, in which there will be the more Matter than there would have been, had I dispatched them from Mount *Amanus*. But you are not to be at *Rome* then. It is, however, most material for you to be there by the 1st of *March* ; for I am afraid that if *Cæsar* stands out, when the Government come to be debated, my Term may be prolonged. But if you are upon the Spot I shall fear nothing. And now, with regard to the Affairs of *Rome*, which I have at last, after long Ignorance, been instructed in by your most agreeable Letters, which I received the 28th of *December*, and which, your Freedman *Philogenes* was at great Pains should come to my Hands by a tedious and unsafe Conveyance, for as to those which, you say, you delivered to the Slaves of *Lennius*, I have not received them. I am pleased with what you write me about *Cæsar*, and the Senate's Resolution concerning him. If he answers your Hopes, in submitting to it, I shall be under no Apprehensions. I am not greatly concerned that *Lejus* is consumed in the Conflagration raised about *Pleporius*. I long to know the Reason why *Lucceius* has appeared so keen against *Quintus Cassius*, and what has been done in that Matter. When I shall come to *Laodicea*, I intend to order a manly Gown for your Nephew *Quintus*, and to take him under my particular Tuition ; for my great Auxiliary

liary (to speak in your Phrase (1)) writes me, that he is to meet me at *Laodicea* with the two *Cicerones*.

Mean while, I am impatient for your Letters from *Epirus*, to give me an Account not only how you employ, but how you amuse, yourself. *Nicanor* behaves well, and I treat him genteelly. I am now thinking of sending him to *Rome* with my public Letters, not only that they may be carried more securely, but that I may have some certain Advices both from you and concerning you. I take kindly the Compliments which you so often write me from your Secretary *Alexis*. But why does he not send me the same under his own Hand, as my *Alexis* does to you. You see what a Loss I am at for incense (2). But enough of this Subject. Farewell, and take care of informing me when you think of returning to *Rome*, Adieu, Adieu. When I was at *Ephesus*, I most earnestly recommended your Interests, and your Friends, to *Thermus* (who I understand has a great Affection for you) and I am now doing the same by Letters. I wrote to you before concerning that House of *Pamenes*, and I again beg that you will take care that the Security

(1) The Words that I have thrown into a Parenthesis is not in the Original. The Person here meant is *Deiotarus*, and *Atticus* seems to have had a facetious Way of describing Persons without naming them, which gives Occasion to the same Humour in our Author, as in a former Epistle, he calls himself, after *Atticus*, the Uncle of your Sister's Son.

(2) *Orig. Pbemio quæritur nixas (Cornu)*. I have translated this Phrase very differently from Monsieur *Mongault*, who translates it, *Je fais chercher un Cor pour Pbemis*, without making any Remark upon it, though I think it a very difficult Passage. *Pbemius* or *Phamius* was a Name for any Musician, I am therefore inclined to think that the whole of the Sentence is proverbial, and that *Cicero* would be glad of some Incense from this *Alexis*. We shall have Occasion again to mention this *Pbemius*.

of the Boy may not be weakened in what he possesses through your, and my, Kindness. Both of us are tied to do this in Honour ; and I, through Inclination.

EPIST. XXI.

THAT you arrived safely in *Epirus*, after (as you write me) a pleasant Voyage, gives me great Joy ; but that you cannot, at the Juncture so critical for me, be at *Rome*, gives me sensible Disquiet. One Consideration, however, affords me Comfort ; for I hope, while you Winter there, that, when you reflect on your Country's Situation, your Mind will not be without its Apprehensions, nor your Enjoyments without their Alloy.

The Letters, of which you enquire the Meaning from me, written by *Caius Cassius*, Brother to your Friend *Quintus Cassius*, were shame-fac'd and whimpering, compared with those he afterwards wrote, in which he says, he has finished the *Parthian* War. It is true, that, before the Arrival of *Bibulus*, they retreated from *Antiochia*, though that was of little or no Service (1) to me. At present, however, they winter in *Cyrrhestica*, and a dreadful Storm of War is gathering. For the Son of *Orodes*, King of the *Parthians*, is now in the provinciated Countries of *Rome*, and *Dejotarus*, whose Son has betroth'd the Daughter of *Artavasdes*, from whom he has perhaps his Intelligence, seems positive, that by the Beginning of Summer, he will pass the *Eu-*

(1) *Orig. ἀντιστάται. Prospero Successu.*

phrates with all his Forces. You are to know that when those triumphal Letters of *Cassius* were read in the Senate, on the same Day, being of the 7th of *October*, mine were likewise read, which were full of so many Alarms. Our Friend *Axius* (1) informs me, that my Letters made a great Impression upon the Assembly, but that, to his, they paid no Regard. Those from *Bibulus* had not then come to their Hands, but I am well assured they will be full of Dread and Dismay.

The Consequences, I apprehend from all those Matters are, lest that *Pompey* being detained at *Rome*, through the Fear of public Commotions, the Senate should refuse to gratify *Cæsar* in any of his Demands, and, while that Knot is untying, that the Senate will be against my leaving this Government before my Successor shall arrive; as judging it improper that Deputies alone should govern those great Provinces, while we are upon the Eve of some mighty Revolution. I tremble when I reflect on this, lest they should decree a Prolongation of my Government in such Terms, as that none dare put a Negative upon it; and my Apprehensions of this are encreased, by reflecting that you, whose Counsel, Popularity, and Zeal, could serve me in many Respects, are now absent from *Rome*. You will tell me, that I am a Self-tormenter; I wish I had no Reason. These are Torments I cannot avoid, so boundless are my Fears. There was one Paragraph (2) however of the Letter you wrote me from *Butbrotum*, immediately on your going a-

(1) He was a *Roman* Senator, and corresponded with *Cicero* by Letters.

(2) *Orig.* ἀπεσταλμένη. *Clausulam*.

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shore, which was a precious one. "I am convinced, and I hope that there will be no Bar upon your Return." How impertinent is that, "I hope," could not "I am convinced," have stood by itself. I received, at *Iconium*, however, in a reasonable Time after their Date, which was on the Day of *Lentulus's* Triumph, the Letters you sent by the Couriers of the Farmers of the Revenue, and which were wrote in the same mawkish (1) Strain, first telling me there would be no Bar to my Return, and then adding that; "if there should be any, you would come to me in Person." Those Doublings of yours put me on the Rack.

From what I have wrote, you may understand what Letters of yours I have received; for I did not receive the Packet, which, as you write me; you gave to *Hermo*, the Freedman of the Centurion *Camula*. You often wrote me of Letters which you gave to the Slaves of *Lenius*; I perceive they were dated so far back as the 22d of *September*, nor did I receive them till the 11th of *February*, when *Lenius* put them into my Hands, upon my Arrival at *Laodicea*. *Lenius* shall feel the Effects of your Recommendation, at present I can only treat him with Civility, but I shall be able hereafter to do him some more substantial Kindness.

Those Letters of yours run all in the old Strain, excepting as to one particular, I mean the Panthers of *Cybiria*. You was in the right to acquaint *Marcus Octavius* (2), that you did not think I would comply

(1) Orig. γλυκύπικρον. *Dulce-amarum*.

(2) He was *Ædile* this Year, and his Colleague *Cælius* being intimate with *Cicero*, had pressed him to send him some Panthers for the public Shews out of *Cilicia*, which was famous for those Savages.

comply. But, in Time to come, give a flat Negative to every Thing that you have the least doubt of my complying with. Hitherto, resolved as I am by Nature, and; by Heavens, inspired, as I was, by your Sentiments, I have distinguished myself, beyond all, in this Sphere of Life, not only (believe me you will find it so) by my Disinterestedness, but by my Justice; Affability, and Clemency. You are not to imagine that any Thing can exceed the Admiration of the People at their not being put to one Farthing of Expence under my Administration; on account either of my Government or Officers, excepting by the Deputy *Lucius Tullius*. Him, though he is moderate in other Respects, I must except, when I say, that not a Farthing has been expended, for he has exacted the Appointments allowed by the *Julian Law* for his travelling Expences; but this only once in the twenty-four Hours, for he does not, as other Officers have done, exact them from every Village he stops at. None else of my Train has touched a Farthing. This Stain of my Government I owe to our Friend *Quintus Titinius* (1).

Upon finishing the Campaign, I made my Brother *Quintus* Commissary General of my Army in their Winter Quarters, and over all *Cilicia*. I dispatched *Quintus Volusius*, Son-in-Law to your Friend *Tiberius*, a stay'd Man, but wonderfully disinterested, into *Cyprus*, that he might remain there for some Days, least the few *Roman* Citizens, who trade there,

Savages. But our Author, who at first affected great Delicacies, refused to harass the People of his Government in catching those Animals.

(1) And yet several Times before he intimates as if *Tullius* had been recommended to him by *Atticus*.

should

should complain, that they had no Court of Justice to resort to, for the *Cyprians* have a Privilege of not being obliged to leave their own Island. I set out for *Asia*, on the 5th of *January*, from *Tarsus*, nor, by Heavens, can you imagine how greatly I was admired by all the Cities of *Cilicia*, and especially by the Inhabitants of *Tarsus*. But after I passed Mount *Taurus*, the Fondness of the *Asiatics*, upon the Out-Skirts of my Government, was wonderful, for, in the six Months of my Administration, they had not once received a Letter from me, nor had I sent them so much as one Guest. But, before my Government, that Time was profitably employed every Year, for the rich Cities gave great Fines to exempt them from Soldiers going into Winter Quarters amongst them. I speak rather under, than above, the Truth (1), when I say that the Island of *Cyprus* itself paid yearly 25,000 *l.* but, under my Government, not a Farthing shall be exacted from it. For all those Instances of Kindness, which are amazing to the Inhabitants, I suffer no other Compliments but those of the Lips to be paid me, for I prohibit all Statues, Temples, and Trophies (2). In all other Respects, I give no Trouble to those Cities, though perhaps I do to you, by thus preaching in my own Praises. But if you love me, you will bear with me; if I am impertinent, your Commands have made me so.

You must know then that I made my Progress, through *Asia*, in such a Manner, that the Famine, that most dreadful of all Evils, which then raged

(1) Orig. ὑπερβολικῶς. *Supra veritatem.*

(2) Orig. τεθρονημα. *Quadrigas.*

in my Part of *Asia* where the Harvest had failed, served the Purposes of my Glory. For, wherever I travelled, I prevailed, through Regard for my Person and Sentiments, so far upon both the *Greeks* and the *Roman* Citizens, who had laid up Magazines of Corn, that without Violence, without legal Process, and, without a Menace, they promised large Quantities to the People of the Province.

On the 13th of *February*, I opened my judicial Proceedings for *Cibyra* and *Apamea* at *Laodicea*; on the 15th of *March* I will open those for *Synnada*, *Pamphilia* and *Isauria*; (then look I for the highest Note of sweetest sounding Praise (1),) and I propose, about the 15th of *May*, to set out for *Cilicia*, there to remain all *June*, without Interruption (I hope) from the *Parthians*. If Matters fall out, as I wish them, I shall spend the Month of *July*, in my Return to *Rome* through my Province, for I entered upon my Government at *Laodicea*, in the Confu-

(1) *Orig. Tum Pbemio despiciam utpas (Cornu) Aonium.* Notwithstanding all the Pains Monsieur *Mongault*, and the Commentators have taken to explain and justify this Passage, as meant of a particular Person and Thing. I am still convinced that the whole of it is an Allegory, and that the Expression itself is either proverbial, or, which I rather incline to believe, taken from some Poet, who was common to *Cicero* and *Atticus*, is lost to us. We cannot consistently either with the Rules of common Sense, or with *Cicero's* Manner, conceive the smallest Meaning that can be in his Thrusting it in as he does without the least Connection with the Matters either before or after it, if this *Pbemius* was really a musical Slave, for whom *Atticus* wanted an Instrument out of *Cilicia*. At the same Time, nothing is more common with our Author, than a kind of preventive Raillery upon his own Vanity, which he generally introduces when he is recounting, as in this Place, some of his own meritorious Actions. Add to this, that *Pbemius* having been celebrated by *Homer* as a Musician, his Name became common to signify a fine Performer. *Quid juvet, says Ovid, ad surdas si cantet Pbemius aures?*

late of *Sulpicius*, and *Marcellus*, on the 31st of July, and I propose to leave it on the 29th of the same Month. In the first Place, I will make it a Point, and prevail (though the Thing will do great Violence both to his and my Inclinations) with my Brother *Quintus*, that he continue to act as my first Lieutenant. I cannot otherwise acquit myself as a Man of Honour, especially as I cannot prevail with *Pontinius*, who is the only proper Person, even to stay here longer; for the Fellow is dragged to *Rome* by *Postumius*, and by *Postumia* too, perhaps; thus you have now the Plan of my Conduct. Now as to *Brutus* and his Concerns.

That Friend of yours has two intimates of his who are Creditors upon the *Salaminians*; *M. Scaptius* and *P. Matinius*, in the Isle of *Cyprus*, and he recommended their Interests to me in the most earnest Manner. I knew nothing of *Matinius*, but *Scaptius* came to me in the Camp, where I promised, from the Regard I have to *Brutus*, that I would see him paid his Money by the *Salaminians*. After returning me Thanks, he asked me for a Commission of Lieutenantcy, which I refused to give to him, or to any other Money-Broker. You know I informed you of my Purpose in this, and when *Pompey* himself asked me for one he was satisfied with my Reasons for refusing it; not to mention that I did the same by *Torquatus*, your Friend *M. Lenius*, and many others. I told him if he wanted the Place on account of his Debt, I would engage to see him paid. He thanked me and then departed.

My Predecessor *Appius* had given to this *Scaptius* the Lieutenantcy of *Salamis*, and likewise the Command

mand of some Squadrons of Horse, to keep the *Salaminians* in order. Finding that he had oppressed them, I commanded the Cavalry to evacuate the Isle of *Cyprus*, to the great Discontent of *Scaptius*. In short, that I might discharge my Engagements to him, I ordered the *Salaminians*, when they came (and *Scaptius* amongst them) to me at *Tarsus*, to discharge the Debt. They talk'd a great deal of the exorbitant Conditions of their Bond, and a great deal of the Oppressions of *Scaptius*; but I refused to hear them. I then exhorted and even entreated them, by all the Services I had done their City, to finish the Affair, and, at last, I acquainted them I would force them to do it. Upon this, they were so far from refusing to comply, that they assur'd me, they could pay it out of my Pocket; because I had, in a Manner, made them a present of so much Money, by my refusing to accept of the usual Perquisites given to their Governor; and that their savings, from their public Expence, exceeded the Sum due to *Scaptius*. I told them they acted like Gentlemen.—Fine Words, said *Scaptius*—but let us see how they will tell.

Mean while, in the Edict I published as my Rule of Government, I had fixed twelve in the Hundred as the legal Interest, and the Creditor to be at Liberty to add it at the End of the Year to his principal Sum (1). But *Scaptius* demanded in
Terms

(1) *Interim cum ego in edicto tralaticio centesimas me observaturum habere, cum anatocismi anniversario; ille ex Syngrapha postulabat quaternas.* I have not taken the same Liberties that Monsieur *Mongault* has done in translating the Account of this Transaction, but I hope my Translation is equally intelligible; nor (to say the Truth) do I think he has perfectly well understood it. As to the Terms made use of, the Reader must apply to Lexi-

Terms of his Bond, fortyeight in the Hundred. Hold, said I, sure you don't mean that I am to go against the Rule laid down by my own Edict. Upon this, he produced a Resolution of the Senate, under the Consulate of *Lentulus* and *Philippus*, declaring "that an Action might be held at Law, upon the Validity of his Bond, before any future Governor of *Cilicia*." This was giving that City its mortal Blow, and therefore at first it struck me with Horror.

Upon farther Enquiry, I find that two Resolutions passed the Senate, under the same Consuls, and upon the same Matter. For when the *Salaminians* wanted to borrow the Money at *Rome*, and found themselves barred from doing it by the *Gabinian* Law, those Intimates of *Brutus*, relying on the Strength of his Interest, offered to advance the Money at 48 *per Cent*. provided they had an Indemnification from the Senate. *Brutus*, upon this, had Interest enough to carry a Resolution through the Senate, importing "that the Clause of 48 *per Cent*. should be of no Prejudice, either to the *Salaminians* or to the Lenders." But the Usurers having paid the Money, afterwards reflected with themselves, that this Resolution could do them no Service, as it amounted to no more than a bare Indemnification from the Penalties of the *Gabinian* Law, which forbade that any Action should lie in a Court of Justice, upon such a Bond. Another Resolution then passed, importing "That the said Bond should be as valid as others." But the Validity of the Bond was not contested as to the Payment of the principal and legal Interest. After, therefore, I had explained my Sense of the

cons and Antiquaries ; for it would take a great deal of Writing to explain them here.

Thing, *Scaptius* took me aside, and told me that he yielded to all I said, but that the *Salaminians* thought they owed him 25000 *l.* and that he was willing, though in reality they did not owe him quite so much, to accept of that Sum. He then entreated me to bring them up to the 25000 *l.* Very well, replied I; and then sending *Scaptius* away, I ordered the *Salaminians* to appear. Pray Gentlemen, said I, how much does this Debt amount to? They told me to about 12200 *l.* When I had acquainted *Scaptius* of this, he made a terrible Noise. Nay, said I, your Bawling will not better you, you ought to compare your Accounts together. Upon this, they sat down, the Accounts were made up, both of them tallied. The *Salaminians* made a Tender of the Money, and pressed *Scaptius* to take it. He called me aside again, and begged that I would leave the Matter as I found it. The Fellow importuned me so hard, that I agreed to this, to the no small Discontent of the *Salaminians*, whom I refused to suffer to deposite the Money in a Temple (1).

All who were present roared out that this Behaviour was the Height of Impudence in *Scaptius*, who was not contented with 12 *per Cent.* and Interest upon Interest, while others said that his Folly was equal to his Impudence. I could not be of that Opinion, because he used to lend Money to any sure Hand, at 12 *per Cent.* but when the Security was doubtful, at 48. This is a true State of my Conduct, and if *Brutus*, does not approve of it, he is unworthy our Friendship. But I know it will be approved of by his Uncle *Cato*, especially as I sup-

(1) A Consignation of Money in a Temple put a Stop to its bearing any Interest while it lay there.

pose a Resolution has just now passed the Senate, since your Departure from *Rome*, in this Matter of the Creditors, that twelve in the Hundred should be the constant and the legal Interest. If I am not mistaken in your Talent at Calculation, you are perfectly sensible what a wide Difference there is between this and the Demand of *Scaptius* (1).

By the bye (2) *Luceius* complains to me in a Letter, that there is great Danger lest those Decrees of the Senate should be attended by a general Bankruptcy. He puts me in mind of the Mischief *Caius Julius* did formerly, by prolonging the Term of Payment but for a short Time (3). Never did the Republic

(1) *Orig. Hoc quid interfit, si tuos digitos novi, certe habes subductum.* Monsieur *Mongault* has, I think, mistaken the Sense of this Passage. He translates it, *Vous voyez bien, vous qui savez compter, de combien ce que j'accorde a Scaptius monte plus haut.* Now I cannot see any Difference between the legal Interest settled by the Senate, and that offered to *Scaptius* by *Cicero*, excepting that *Cicero* allowed him the *Anatocismus*; but I apprehend that the *Anatocismus* was legal in all Cases. and *Cicero* certainly thought it to be so by his own Edict, otherwise the Creditor must have suffered considerably, even to the Amount of his whole Sum in about eight Years. The Expression therefore, *quid interfit*, necessarily and naturally infers to the Difference between the exorbitant Demand of *Scaptius*, and the legal Interest settled by the Senate.

(2) *Orig. ὁδὸν πείνητος. Obiter.*

(3) *Orig. Quid olim mali, Caius Julius fecerit, cum diaculam duxerit.* The Obscurity of this Expression has given Rise to a prodigious Number of Conjectures. It does not appear plain to me that the Decrees here blamed by *Luceius* relate to the Decree for settling the Interest; I am strongly inclined to believe that he means the Decrees obtained by *Scaptius* to authorise his exorbitant Interest, and which indeed did point at a general Bankruptcy; whereas the Decree for regulating Interest seems to have been calculated to prevent it. As to the Fact mentioned here concerning *Cæsar*, we know nothing of it; nor has either Monsieur *Mongault*, or any of the Commentators pretended to ascertain what it was. I cannot, however,

Republic run a greater Risk than it did at that time. But to return to the Matter. Set my Plea in the best Light to *Brutus*, if that can be urged as a bare Plea, which can be contradicted with no Colour of Truth, especially as I have left the whole Affair and Process in the same State I found them. I have nothing farther to say but to my private Affairs. As to the main one (1) of all, I am of the same Sentiments with you. Let us deal with the Son of *Posthumia*; because *Pontidia's* Son trifles with us. But I wish you were upon the Spot. You are to expect no Letters for some Months from my Brother *Quintus*, because Mount *Taurus* is impassable, on Account of the Snows, before *June*. I quicken *Thermus*, as you desire I should, with repeated Letters. King *Dejotarus* assures me, that *Publius Valerius* is a Beggar, and that he is maintained by him. As soon as you know whether this Year is to be intercalated at *Rome*, or not, let me know precisely the Day on which the Ceremonies of *Bona Dea* are to be performed. I don't expect to hear from you quite so often as if you was at *Rome*; but still let me hear as often as you can.

help observing, that most probably it related to some Part of *Cæsar's* Conduct, at the Time of *Catiline's* Conspiracy. For we find that at that Time the *Roman* Knights, who were the monied Men of *Rome*, were terribly exasperated at his Behaviour, and that *Cicero*, in a great Number of Places, hints that the Republic of *Rome*, at that Time, was upon the Eve of a general Bankruptcy. But for the sake of Perspicuity, we must here observe, that our Author calls the *Senatus consultum*, for settling the Interest, as well as those blamed by *Lucius*, by the Term of *Decreta*.

(1) Orig. *ἀνδραγαθία*. *Arcano domestico*.



C I C E R O's
E P I S T L E S
T O
A T T I C U S.

B O O K VI.

E P I S T I.

✱✱✱ IN the 17th of *February* (1) I received your
✱ O ✱ Letter at *Laodicea*; and read it with Rap-
✱✱✱ tures, so full was it of Affection, Love,
Benevolence, Friendship, and Zeal. Take
therefore my Answer in your own Method, with-
out my following the Plan (2) I generally lay down.
You tell me that my last Letters, dated the 22d of
September, are come to your Hands; and you want to
know what Letters I have received from you? Almost
all you mention, excepting those which you say you
delivered to the Slaves of *Lentulus*, at *Equotuticum*
and *Brundisium*. You therefore do not, as you seem

(1) *Orig. Ad quintum terminalia.*

(2) *Orig. οὐκ ὁρίσας. Ordinem.*

to apprehend, take all your Pains for nothing (1); believe me, they have had a noble Effect, if your Intention was to give me Pleasure; for never in my Life, did I receive more. It gives me vast Joy that, contrary to my Expectation, you approve of my Phlegm (2) towards *Appius*, and my Freedom towards *Brutus*.

For *Appius*, on his Journey, wrote me two or three growling (3) Letters, because I had repealed some of his Acts. This is just as if a Patient should be delivered over from one Physician to another, and the first should fall into a Passion with the latter for altering the Regimen he had laid down in the Cure. Thus, the Regimen of *Appius* was by Evacuations (4); he emptied, as much as he could, the Veins and the Body of the Province, and delivered her over to me when she was at the last Gasps, and now it is with Pain that he sees I have placed her again upon her Legs (5). His Resentment, however, is a Medley of Reproach, and Thanksgiving; for in all my Regulations, I always kept clear of his Character; so that, in fact, the Man is only angry at my Practice being so very different from his. And nothing surely can be more different. Under his Government, the Province was quite drained with her Expences and her Losses. Under mine, not a Farthing was exacted, either in a public or a private Capacity. I need not mention his Prefects, his Attendants, his Lieutenants, with all their Train of Rapine, Lusts and Abuses. At

(1) Orig. οἷχτας. *Evanescit.*

(2) Orig. βαδύτητα. *Taciturnitatem.*

(3) Orig. υπομνησμοίς. *Subquerulas.*

(4) Orig. ἐξ ἀφαιρέσεως. *Per extractionem.*

(5) Orig. προσαναίεσθαι. *Recreatam.*

present, by Heavens, there cannot be, even in a Family, better OEconomy, greater Regularity, or more Modesty than appears over the whole of my Province. The Turn given to this Reformation by some of *Appian's* Friends, is pleasant enough; for they say that I affect all this meritorious Conduct by way of Satire upon his, and that the Virtue of my Government is not owing to my Regard for my own Character, but to my Spite for his. If *Appian*, however, as the Letter of *Brutus*, which I sent to you, intimated, should return me his Thanks, I shall be very well pleased, and yet, when I write this Letter, which I do before Day-break, I am thinking of repealing a great many of his wicked Acts and Statutes.

Now as to *Brutus*, for whom, at your Recommendation, I conceived the greatest Regard, which was even drawing towards Affection. But—no—I will check myself lest I disoblige you.—For you are not to imagine that ever I had a Thing more at Heart in my Life than to execute what that Man recommended to me; nor did I ever endeavour any Thing more earnestly. Nay, though he gave me a Memorial of all his Commissions, and which contained only the Matters which had before passed between you and me, yet am I punctual to the smallest Particular.

In the first Place, I made so strong a Point of it with *Ariobarzanes*, as to press him to pay *Brutus* the Money, which he had promised me. While that Prince was in my Company, this Proposal was very smoothly received; but he afterwards began to be pressed by a whole Gang of *Pompey's* Agents. Now there are a thousand Reasons, not to mention his

his being expected to command against the *Partians*, why *Pompey* has greater Influence with him than all the World besides has. Notwithstanding that, *Pompey* is now obliged to receive in Payment every Month 5000 *l.* (which is not indeed the Interest of the Principal lent) and that too out of the Taxes. But our Friend *Cneus* meekly puts up with this: He goes without his Principal, and he does not get even the whole of his Interest. His Majesty neither does, nor can, pay any body else, for he is a King without either Treasure or Taxes to support him. He puts his Country, after the Manner of *Appius*, under Contribution, and yet all is insufficient for discharging the Interest of his Debt to *Pompey*. It is true, two or three of his Friends are rich Men, but neither you nor I can be more tenacious of our Property than they are of theirs. Notwithstanding all this, I am incessantly teasing, exhorting, and reproaching the Prince by Letters. *Dejotarus* has even informed me, that he sent an Embassy to *Ariobarzanes* concerning his Transaction with *Brutus*, but that all the Answer he received was, that he had no Money; and in my Conscience, I believe never was there a Kingdom more drained, or a King more needy (1). I am therefore thinking of either resigning my Guardianship, or, as *Scævola* (2) did in the Case of *Glabrio*, I will shut up his Exche-

(1) The Poverty of the Kings of *Cappadocia* seems to have become proverbial about this Time. *Horace* takes Notice of it. *Mancipis locuples, eget aris Cappadocum Rex.*

(2) This seems to have been a Piece of private History. *Scævola* probably was Tutor to a young Gentleman, whose Affairs were so circumstanced, that he was obliged to stop Payment of the Debts upon his Estate.

quer from the Payment of both Principal and Interest.

And yet I have bestowed the Commissions of Lieutenancy, of which, at my Request, you made the Compliment to *Brutus*, upon *Marcus Scaptius* (1) and *Lucius Gavius*, who were his Agents in *Cappadocia*, because they did not drive a Trade of Money-broking within my Province. Now you may remember we came to a Conclusion, that he might have what Commissions of Lieutenancy he pleased, provided he did not dispose of one to a Money-broker. In consequence of this, I made him a Present of two Commissions besides; but the Persons, for whom he asked them, have left the Province.

Now concerning the *Salaminian* Debt, I perceive the Turn that Affair took has surpris'd you as well as me, for he never told me that that Money was owing to him. So far from that, I have a Memorandum of his Writing, in which he has these Words, "The People of *Salamis* owe Money
" to *Marcus Scaptius* and *Publius Matinius* my
" Friends." He recommends them to me, he gives his Reason for doing it, and tells me by way

(1) *Orig. Nec enim in provincia me a negotiabantur.* According to the obvious Meaning of these Words *Cicero* falls into a direct Contradiction, which has not been observed by Monsieur *Mongault*, or any of the Commentators. Here he tells us expressly, that he gave *Scaptius* one of these Commissions, because he did not carry on his Money-broking Trade within his Province, and yet we find him in the same Quarrel with *Brutus* for refusing this Commission to *Scaptius*, because he was a Money-Broker. But in fact there were two *Scaptius*'s, and both of them Friends to *Brutus*. One of them an Agent in *Cappadocia*, the other a Money-Broker in *Cyprus*.

of Spur, that he was engaged (1) for them in a great Sum of Money. I had settled the Matter so as that the *Salaminians* were to pay, at the Rate of twelve in the Hundred, the Interest to be added to the Principal every six Years. But *Scaptius* insisted upon forty eight in the Hundred. I could not gratify him in this without being afraid of forfeiting the Esteem, even of you, my dearest Friend. For I should have broken into the Rule of my own Government, and I might absolutely have ruined a City that claims the Patronage of *Cato* (2) and of *Brutus* himself, and has been distinguished with Proofs of my Kindness.

At this very Time, *Scaptius* throws into my Teeth a Letter from *Brutus*, informing me that the Thing was a Concern of his own, though *Brutus* never told so much, either to you or me, and likewise desiring me to bestow the Commission of Lieutenantcy upon *Scaptius*. Now you know, that when I empowered you to make that Offer to *Brutus*, I excepted all Money-brokers, and he, of all Mankind, ought to be excluded. For he was Lieutenant to *Appius*, and commanded some Squadrons of Horse, with whom he shut up in their Senate-

(1) This probably was the Money which *Scaptius* had borrowed at *Rome* for the *Salaminians*.

(2) *Cato* had reduced *Cyprus* into the Form of a Province, when the *Romans* took it from King *Ptolomy*, and he had been attended in his Expedition thither by his Nephew *Brutus*, for which Reason both of them declared themselves the Patrons of that Island. Upon the whole, it is more than probable, that some of the Circumstances of this Loan have not come to our Knowledge, otherwise we can scarcely reconcile the Conduct of *Brutus*, to that noble inflexible Character, for which he is so remarkable in History.

House, the Senate of *Salamis*, 'till five of the Senators were starved to death. Therefore I had no sooner set my Foot within my Province, and was met by the *Cyprian* Deputies at *Ephesus*, than I dispatched Letters, ordering those Squadrons of Horse forthwith to leave the Island, and for that Reason, I suppose *Scaptius* wrote somewhat harshly to *Brutus* concerning me. I am, however, determined upon what I shall do. If *Brutus* shall think that I ought to have given a Decree for forty-eight in the Hundred, after laying it down as a Rule in my Edict, and enforcing it by my Judgment over all the Province, even to the good Liking of the most unconscionable Usurers, that no more than twelve in the Hundred should be taken; if he shall take it amiss that I refused a Lieutenantcy to a Money-Broker, after refusing the same to my *Torquatus*, who sought it for your Friend *Lælius*, and to *Pompey* himself, who asked it for *Sextus Statius*, while both of them were satisfied with my Reasons; if he shall resent my ordering the Squadrons to evacuate the Island; great indeed will be my Concern at his being offended with me; but it will be much greater to find *Brutus* not to answer the Character I had conceived of him.

Scaptius himself must at least acknowledge that it was in his Option, while I was upon the Bench, to have put his whole Money into his Pocket upon my Decree. I will add another Thing, and I don't know whether you will not think I have gone too far in it. All the Interest ought to have stopt, even the Interest, which my Decree allowed from the Time the *Salaminians* offered to deposite the Money, and yet I prevailed with the *Salaminians* not to insist upon this. They have at my Request dispensed with

with the Rigour of the Law towards him; but how will they pass their Time should *Paulus* (1) succeed me in this Government? All this I have done entirely to oblige *Brutus*, who has written so handsomely to you concerning me; but his Letters to me, even when he asks for a Favour, are written in stubborn, arrogant, exasperating (2) Terms. But I beg that you would write to him concerning the Things I have mentioned, and let me know how he takes them.

I thought I had sufficiently explained all those Particulars in former Letters, but, to say the Truth, I was determined to make you sensible how well I had treasured up what you wrote me more than once, I mean, that if I gained nothing by my Government but the Friendship of *Brutus*, I was amply rewarded. Be it so, since you will have it so, but still I believe you will agree with me, that his Friendship would be too dearly purchased by the Loss of my Honour. Supposing, therefore, that my Decree had ordered *Scaptius* to have been immediately paid off, I will appeal to you (an Honour I would not pay even to *Cato* himself) on what equitable Terms? But still think not that I have flung from me your Maxims (3). No, I have treasured them up in my Soul. With Tears in your Eyes you recommended to me the Care of my Honour. Did you ever write a Letter, in which you did not repeat the same? Therefore while all is well within

(1) He means *Æmilius Paulus*, whose Brother *Lepidus* had married the Sister of *Brutus*, and was therefore likely to be partial in his Favour.

(2) Orig. ἀκοινωνήτως. *Alieno animo*.

(3) Orig. ἐνιδύσματα. *Hortationes*.

myself, blame me who will, I will suffer all; but without wavering (1), especially as I have, in a manner, entered into new Securities for my Behaviour by my six Treatises upon Government, which I am glad you so much approve of.

You mention one historical (2) Slip concerning *Cneus Flavius*, the Son of *Marcus* (3). But you are to consider that he is not to be placed before the *Decemviri*, because he was *Gurule Ædile*, an Institution many Years later than the *Decemviri*. Where then, say you, was the Utility of publishing the Calendar? Why, before that Time, a Calendar was a Matter of such Mystery that People were obliged to apply to a few Lawyers, who were in the Secret, to know the Days of Pleading. Now many Authors tell us, that *Cneus Flavius*, a Scribe, published the Calendar, and drew up the Digest to the Processes. I inform you of this, lest you should imagine that I, or rather my Interlocutor *Africanus* have committed a Slip here. I see you have taken Notice (4) of the Mention I have made of a theatrical Actor (5), and you make a wicked Application of it; but I meant no Harm (6).

You tell me that the Letters of *Philotimus* informed you of my being saluted Captain-General. But I suppose, now that you are in *Epirus*, you

(1) *Orig.* τὸ γὰρ εἴ μὴ ἰμῷ. *Reſtum enim mecum eſt.*

(2) *Orig.* ἱſτορικόν. *Hiſtoricum.*

(3) This probably relates to a Paſſage in *Cicero's* Book of Government. This *Flavius* lived about the Year 448. The Matter is farther explained in his Character of an Orator. See Page 85 of the Tranſlation.

(4) *Orig.* οὐκ ἔλαβ' αἶ. *Non te latuit.*

(5) Meaning *Hortenfius* moſt probably,

(6) *Orig.* ἀφαιώς. *Simpliciter.*

have received two Letters of mine, containing my whole History, one dated from *Pindenissum*, upon its being taken, the other from *Laodicea*, and both of them were delivered to your own Slaves. I sent two public Letters by two Couriers to *Rome*, upon the same Subject, not chusing to trust the Sea Conveyance entirely.

I quite agree with your Sentiments concerning my Daughter *Tullia*, and I have signified, in a Letter, my Consent, both to her and my Wife. I remember what you wrote me some Time ago; "I wish," said you, that you would return to your old "Flock (1)." But there was no Occasion for correcting any Thing of that Letter concerning *Memmius*; for I much rather approve of the Party proposed by *Pontidia*, than that by *Servilia*. You may therefore employ my Friend *Auffius*, who has had always a great Regard for me, and I suppose more now than ever, if, as I believe, he has succeeded to his Brother's Affection for me, as well as to his Estate. How great that Affection was! I had frequent Proofs, and especially in the Affair of *Burja*. It now lies with you to ease me of a Load that lies heavy upon my Spirits. I am by no means pleased with the Clause of Exception (2) entered in the Bill of *Furnius*, for I had no Apprehension as to any other Juncture, than that very one he excepted. But if you were at *Rome*, I would write you more fully on this Head. I am not surpris'd that you rest all your Hopes of public Tranquillity upon *Pempey* in

(1) Meaning that our Author should give his Daughter to a Roman Knight, of which Order both he and *Atticus* originally were. What follows here is all private History, and perhaps requires more Explanation than it deserves.

(2) *Viz.* That *Cicero* should return home if there was no war with the *Parthians*.

the present Situation of Affairs, and in speaking of him for the future, I think we need no longer use that same distrustful Epithet (1).

Well, if I write (2) preposterously in this Letter, I must impute it to you, whom I imitate, in writing whatever comes uppermost (3). My two little *Ciceros* love one another; they pursue the same Studies and the same Exercises; but, as *Isocrates* said of *Ephorus* and *Theopompus*, the one requires a Bridle the other a Spur. I intend to give *Quintus* the manly Robe on the Feast of *Bacchus* (4), at his Father's Request. I will observe that Feast without any Regard to Intercalations. I have a great Affection for *Dionysius*, tho' my Boys say that he is terribly passionate, but no Man can have more Learning or better Morals than he has, or love you and me better than he does.

It is true, as you write me, that *Thermus* and *Silius* (5) have great Popularity in their Government, which they deserve by their disinterested Conduct. You may say the same thing of *Marcus Nonius*, *Bibulus*, and me, if you please. I wish now *Scrofa* (6) had a Government that could try his Parts; for it is a Post that puts a Man in a very conspicuous Point of Light. All the other Ex-

(1) Nothing surely was ever more weak than *Cicero* was in his Judgment of Mankind, but at the same Time his Acknowledgements show an honest Heart.

(2) *Orig. δεικνύσθαι. Ordo.*

(3) *Orig. σχιδιάζοντα. Quæ ex improvise occurrunt scribentem.*

(4) *Orig. Liberalibus.* It fell upon the 17th of March, and it was a Time of the Year in which young Gentlemen commonly assumed the manly Robe.

(5) He was Governor of *Bithynia* and *Pontus*.

(6) He was mentioned before, and the whole of this Passage about him is extremely dark,

peccants weaken by their Practice the political Theory (1) of *Cato*. It was very kind in you to recommend my Interest to *Hortensius*. *Dionysius* has no Kind of Hopes of *Amianus*, nor have I got the least Hint concerning *Terentius*. *Maragenes* is certainly dead; I travelled over his Estate without seeing one Creature upon it, but that was after the Conversation I had with your Freedman *Democratus*. I have spoken for your Dishes of *Rhodian* Ware (2). But hark you, Sir, what are you about? You used to serve up to us no better than Pot Herbs in your embossed Chargers and magnificent Dishes, then what Kind of Fare will you serve up in the Loam Vessels?

A Trumpet (3) is commissioned for *Phemius*, and it shall be sent him, provided he has a Subject equal to his Performance.—The *Parthian* War is ready to burst out. *Cassius* had dispatched very foolish Accounts upon that Head, before the Letters of *Bibulus* reached *Rome*; but when these are read, I hope they will at last rouse the Senate. For my own Part I am very uneasy. Even supposing my Government should not be prolonged beyond the Year, and I hope it will not, yet still I have some Apprehensions of *June* and *July*. Well, *Bibulus* will hold out at least for two Months; but what will become of the Person whom I leave in my Command, especially my Brother, if he should happen to be the Man? Nay, what will become of

(1) Orig. πολιτικόν. Resp. Administration.

(2) *Rhodus* was a Town situated upon the Gulf of *Iffus*, and seems to have been famous for a coarse Kind of earthen Ware.

(3) Orig. Κίερα. Cornu.

myself, if I am obliged to stay longer than I look for? I am under great Perplexities. Mean while, I have come to an Agreement with *Deiotarus*, that he shall serve in my Camp with all his Forces, which amount to thirty Cohorts, of 400 Men each, armed in the *Roman* Manner, and 2000 Horse. With this Reinforcement I shall be able to keep the *Partians* in play 'till *Pompey* arrives, and his Letters inform me that he is appointed to that Command. The *Partians* have taken up their Winter Quarters in the provinciated Country, and *Orodes* is to head them in Person. In short we shall have enough upon our Hands.

I have conformed myself to the Edict of *Bibulus*, in all but that one Exception which you wrote to me, "would bear too hard upon our Order (1)." Now my Expression has the same (2) Meaning, but it is better guarded, and is taken from the *Asiatic* Edict of *Quintus Mucius*, the Son of *Publius*, and imports, "that if a Transaction is of such a Nature " as in Equity it is invalid, we will then proceed " according to Conscience." In many other Respects, I followed the Edict of *Scævola*. I have par-

(1) *Cicero* had a particular Deference for the Order of Knights here mentioned. We have already seen that they generally farmed the public Revenues, and consequently they were let loose by the Senate to make the best of the People of the provinciated Countries, whom they sometimes oppressed most dreadfully. On this Account *Bibulus* in his Edict, as other Governors have done, had a Clause, declaring he would observe all Contracts that were not oppressive or fraudulent. *Patia conventa, quæ nec vi, nec dolo malo, facta erunt, servabo.* *Bibulus*, it seems, had named the Knights expressly, as if this Clause had been applicable peculiarly to their Order, which our Author did not think so decent, and therefore kept to more general Terms,

(2) *Orig. ἰσχυρισμῶσαν. Quæ idem voluit.*

particularly

ticularly adopted that Clause of his, which the *Greeks* think amounts to the restoring them to their Liberty, by allowing them, in all their Disputes, to proceed according to their own Laws.

Now you must know that my Edict is but short, because I have thought fit to divide (1) it under two Heads. One comprehends the Affairs of the Province, and regulates all Matters regarding the Accounts of the City Debts, Interest, Bonds, and every Thing that relates to the Farmers of the Revenue. The other Head which cannot be regularly settled, but by an Edict, relates to the Modes of Succession, to Entries upon Estates, to Commissions of Bankruptcies, and to Sales, all which Matters can only be proceeded upon, and settled by Edict. Every Thing else relating to Jurisdiction, I have left unmentioned (2), and have declared that in such Matters my Decisions should be in Conformity to the Rules of the City Prætors. By those Means, it has been my Care, and I have hitherto succeeded, to please every body. As to the *Greeks* they are quite in Raptures at being left to their own Judges and their own municipal Law. That is, say you, to a Gang of Jugglers. No matter, they think they are restored to their antient Constitution (3). The *Greek* Judges whom you have at *Rome*, are, I suppose, Men of great Weight; witness *Turpio* the Cobler, and *Vettius* the Broker.

You seem curious to know how I have proceeded with Regard to the Farmers of the Revenue. Why I care for them, I humour them, I ho-

(1) *Orig. δαίρεσις. Divisionem.*

(2) *Orig. ἀγγραφον. Non scriptum.*

(3) *Orig. αὐτονομίας. Facultatem utendi suis legibus.*

nour and distinguish them, and thus I prevent their being oppressive to any Person. What will surprise you still more (1) is, *Servilius* had even given them a Title to the Interest of the Money for which they contracted with the Province; but I proceed as follows. I give the Contractors for the Province a pretty reasonable Time for Payment, and if they make it before the Day elapses, I tell them I will deduct the legal Interest, but if they pass the Day of Payment, they must then stand to the Terms of their Contracts. By this Regulation the *Greeks* are not loaded with any intolerable Usury, and the Farmers are extremely well pleased. Thus I give them fine Words in Plenty, and make them always welcome at my House. In short, I live with them so familiarly, that each thinks himself the Favourite. I know them however too well (2). You understand what I mean.

What do you tell me concerning the Statue of *Africanus* (what a Medley of Writing this Letter is (3)! But your Letters have made me in Love with that Manner) Is *Metellus Scipio* ignorant that his great Grand-father never was Censor (4)? Now the Inscription upon that Statue to which you have given so exalted a Place in the Temple of *Ops*, mentions only his being Consul. In like manner upon the Statue in the Temple of *Pollux* (5), the Inscription mentions only his being Consul, and that it is his

(1) Orig. Τὸ παράδοξόν ἐστιν. *Quod maxime mirandum.*

(2) Orig. μηδὲν αὐτοῖς. *Nihil ipsis.*

(3) Orig. ὡς πραγματικῶς ἀσυγκρίτως! *O res non contextas!*

(4) Our Author probably means a Statue of the second *Scipio Africanus*, which this *Metellus* insisted upon to be a Statue of *Scipio Nasica*, the great Grandfather of this *Scipio*.

(5) Orig. Πολυδύσκης. *Pol'ucis.*

Statue

Statue appears from the Attitude, the Robe, the Ring, and the Face. And if you will believe me, when I observed in that Cavalcade of gilded Equestrians which this same *Metellus* has erected in the Capitol, the Image of *Scipio Africanus*, inscribed with the Name of *Serapion* (1), I thought it had been the Mistake of the Workmen, but I am now convinced it was owing to the scandalous Ignorance (2) of *Metellus* himself.

With Regard to my Mistake concerning *Flavius* and the Calendar, if it is one, it is a very general one. Your Diffidence (3) is extremely well grounded, and I was obliged to follow a public, though perhaps a lying, Tradition, which is often all the Direction we have with Regard to the *Greeks*. How current has a Tradition run amongst them, that *Alcibiades* in his Voyage to *Sicily* threw into the Sea *Eupolis*, the Father of ancient Comedy (4). Yet this Fact is confuted by *Eratosthenes* (5), who has produced Plays of *Eupolis*, composed since that Time, Notwithstanding this Anachronism, *Duris* (6) the *Samian*, an accurate Historian, has lost no Reputation by falling into it, because the Mistake was general. Is it not universally understood, and by *Theophrastus* amongst others, that *Zaleucus* (7), composed the *Locri-*

(1) This was a Name given to *Scipio Nasica*, on account of his great Resemblance to a Slave of the same Name.

(2) Orig. ὁ ἀνορονομία. O inscitiam historiae.

(3) Orig. ἡπίστανται. Dubitasti.

(4) Orig. Εὐπόλιν τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας. Eupolim illum priscæ, supp. Comædiæ.

(5) He wrote a Treatise upon the Drama which is quoted by *Athenæus* and *Julius Pollux*.

(6) He was a Cotemporary with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and wrote the History of the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*.

(7) He was a Disciple of *Thales*, and is mentioned by many Authors.

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an (1) Laws? But does *Theophrastus* suffer in his Character, if your Favourite *Timeus* has shewn him to be under a Mistake as to the Fact. But it is scandalous for a Man to be ignorant that his Great Grandfather never was Censor, especially as none of the *Cornelii*, after his Consulship (2), was Censor during his Life.

As to *Philotimus*, and the Payment of that 1800 *l*. I understand he is to be at *Cherjonefus* about the Beginning of *January*; but as yet I have had no Letter from him. *Camillus* writes me, that he has received my Arrears. I should be glad to know (for I do not at present) how much they amount to. But we will talk of those Matters hereafter, and perhaps to better Purpose, when we meet. I own to you, my dearest Friend, that I was struck with a Passage towards the End of your Letter. For after a——“What shall I say farther (3),” you conjure me in the most affectionate Terms to be always on the Watch, and to have my Eyes about me. Have you then heard any Whisper? It is not indeed likely (4) that you have; for I think nothing has or can escape my Intelligence. But still, that studied Hint gave me an Intimation of somewhat.

I again tell you, that your Answer to *Marcus*

(1) The *Locrians* were descended of the *Locrians*, who lived about Mount *Parnassus*, and lived in a City of *Magna Græcia* in *Italy*, which was built by the Attendants of *Ajan Oilius*, who settled there after the War of *Troy*.

(2) It was a Rule amongst the *Romans* not to make a Man Censor till he had passed the Office of Consul, and this made the Mistake of *Metellus* the more inexcusable, for the Reason given by *Cicero*.

(3) *Orig.* τί λοιπόν. *Quid reliquum?*

(4) *Orig.* πολλὰ γὰρ ἐστὶν. *Multum quidem abest.*

Ottavius

Octavius was very proper, had it been a little more peremptory. For *Cælius* has sent his Freedman to me with very pressing Letters, but scandalous with Regard to the Panthers, and the Contributions of the several States (1). I answered him I was not a little mortified at my being so obscure a Person, and that it was not publicly known at *Rome* that I levied no public Money, but to discharge public Debts. I informed him farther, that I could not bring myself to think that I could honourably grant, or he receive, the Money he demanded, and I gave him my Advice, from the great Love I bear to him, that he who had impeached the Conduct of others should set a Guard upon his own (2). As to his Demand of Panthers, I did not think it consistent with my Honour to put the *Cibyrites* to the Trouble of a general Hunting.

Lepta is quite overjoyed with your Letter, which is handsomely wrote, and has done me great Honour with him. I take it kindly of your little Daughter that she was so earnest in desiring you to send me her Compliments; I am likewise obliged to *Pilia*. Make therefore my Compliments agreeable to both, but especially to the former whose Affection is the more remarkable, as it is impossible for her to remember ever to have seen me (3). The Date of your Letters being the last of *December*, renewed to me the dear Remembrance of that glo-

(2) These *Ædiles* generally insisted upon the Provinces being taxed to defray the Expence of the public Shows, which *Cicero* thought was a scandalous Imposition.

(2) *Cælius* had distinguished himself in three several Impeachments of great Men for Male Practices.

(3) There is an Obscurity in the Original, the best Reading is, *Quem jampridem nunquam vidit*.

rious Oath (1), which never shall go out of my Thoughts. Never did Magistrate appear with more Lustre than I did that Day. Now I have answered all Particulars without repaying you as you desire, in Gold for Brags (2) but in kind——

Hold, I have got another dwarfish Letter of your's, which I must not let slip without an Answer (3). So! *Luceius* (4) has parted with his Seat at *Tusculum*, and, I think, he has done right, unless perhaps it brings him into a more expensive Way, for there, he used to have no other Company but his Musick-master. I should be glad to know how his Affairs stand. I even hear that our Friend *Lentulus* has been obliged to advertise his Estate at *Tusculum* to raise Money; I wish the Affairs of both of them, and those of *Sestius* and *Cælius* too, if I mistake not, were less embarrass'd. We say of them all as *Homer* says of the *Greeks*, when *Hector* gave them a Challenge. They

Blush'd to refuse, and to accept it fear'd (5).

I suppose you have heard, that *Curius* has some

(1) When *Cicero* was going out of his Consulate, he was hindered by *Metellus Nepos*, the Tribune, from haranguing the People. He therefore took that Opportunity of adding to the ordinary Oath made by the Consuls, upon the Expiration of their Office, that he had saved his Country, and in this the People applauded him.

(2) Orig. *χρυσία χαλαρίων*. *Aurea pro abracis*.

(3) Orig. *ἀνατιφάντες*. *Sine responsione*.

(4) The whole of this Passage is translated upon Conjecture, so obscure is the Original.

(5) Orig. *ἀδύνατοι μὲν ἀντιτάξασθαι. δύναντες ἔτι ὑποδέχεσθαι*. *Veriti super quidem recusare, timuerunt autem accipere*. Our Author applies this to their Situation with regard to *Cæsar*, whom they wished well, though they durst not yet venture to declare their Attachment to him.

Thoughts

Thoughts of recalling *Memmius*. As to the Debt of *Egnatius* the *Sidicinian*, my Hopes are neither very faint nor very sanguine. *Dejotarus* is extremely concern'd about the Recovery of *Penarius*, whom you recommended to me. So much for your lesser Letter. I beg that about the 15th of *May*, when I shall be at *Laodicea*, you will frequently converse with me by Letters, and that, after you are arrived at *Athens*, you will send Couriers to me, for I then may have Intelligence how Affairs go at *Rome*, and know how the Governments have been bestowed, all which happen'd in the Month of *March*. But hark you, have you not by means of *Herodes* squeez'd from *Cesar* about 6000 *l.* by which you have incurred great Displeasure with *Pompey*. For he thinks the Money (1) you have got, is so much loss to him, and that *Cesar* will be more cautious how he proceeds in building his Seat in the Forest of *Aricia*.

I learn'd this Circumstance from *Publius Veditius*, who, though he is a fellow of no Character, is very intimate with *Pompey*. He came to meet me with two Chariots and a Chaise drawn with Horses, a Litter, and such a numerous Retinue, that were the Bill brought in by *Curius* (2) to pass, *Veditius* could not be tax'd at less than 800 *l.* He had in one of his Chariots a dog-headed Ape (3), and was attended by Plenty of wild Asses. Never did I see

(1) This relates probably to Money borrowed by *Cesar* of *Pompey*.

(2) This was a Kind of a Turnpike Bill for imposing a Tax upon all Equipages to keep the public Roads in repair.

(3) Very strange Stories are told of this Creature, which seems to have been a great Rarity amongst the *Romans*.

a more impudent Fellow. But that is not all, he took up his Lodging in *Laodicea*, at the House of *Pompeius Vindullus*, where he left his Baggage when he set out to wait upon me. In the mean while, *Vindullus* died, and, of course, his Estate was understood to fall to his Patron *Pompey* the Great. *Caius Vennonius* then came to the House of *Vindullus*, and in sealing up his Effects, he falls upon those of *Vedius*, in which were found the enamel'd Pictures (1) of five Ladies, for Bracelets, and amongst them that of the Sister and Wife of your two Friends *Brutus* and *Lepidus*, who indeed are well fitted with Names; for none but a Brute would have Connections with such a Fellow, and he who could wink at his Wife's carrying on such a Commerce, must be a merry Fellow (2) indeed. I thought you would be pleased with a Hint of this Story (3), for each of us has his Share of low Curiosity.

There is one Thing I would recommend to you. I hear that *Appius* is making a Portico (4) at *Eleusis*; what would you think if I should make one for the Academy? You will tell me I am in the Right of it; but I desire to have your Sentiments in Writing. To speak the Truth, I am so much in love with that same *Athens*, that I want to

(1) Some here read the Original *Langulcule*, others *Plangulcule*. The latter resembled a Kind of Childrens Dolls, and were made use of as Puppets by the young Ladies of *Athens*. Be this as it will, those mentioned here by *Cicero* seem to have been the common Presents of Ladies to their Gallants, and a tacit Acknowledgment of their having granted them Favours.

(2) The Reader no doubt perceives *Cicero*'s Puns here. *Lepidus* in the *Latin* signifies a merry Fellow.

(3) *Orig.* παρρησιασθαι. *Obiter scire*.

(4) *Orig.* προπύλαιον. *Vestibulum*.

bequeath

to ATTICUS.

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bequeath to it some Monument of my Affection. I hate the spurious Inscriptions upon borrow'd Statues (1), but you shall have the Direction of this. Let me know the precise Day on which the *Roman* Mysteries are to be celebrated, and how you spent the Winter. Farewell, written on the 765 Day after the Battle of *Leuctra* (2).

E P I S T. II.

WHEN your Freedman *Philogenes* came to pay me his Compliments at *Laodicea*, and told me he was to sail directly for you, I charged him with this Letter, in answer to those which I received from the Courier of *Brutus*. I will begin with the latter Part of yours, which has given me vast Uneasiness; I mean what *Cincius* wrote you concerning the Discourse of *Statius*, who to my very great Concern, is made to say that I approve of that Measure (3). I approve of it!—Could such a Thing come in their Head! Give me Leave to say that I should wish that the Bonds of my intimate Connection with you were multiplied, though those of Affection are the most binding; so far am

(1) *Orig. Statuarum alienarum*. It was no unusual Thing with the Antients when they met with a fine Statue to inscribe it with their own Name, or that of their Friend or Patron.

(2) He here means the Death of *Clodius*.

(3) This still regards the bad Understanding that continued between *Cicero's* Brother and his Wife, Sister to *Atticus*, which had gone so far that *Statius*, the favourite Freedman of *Quintus Cicero*, took the Freedom to say, that our Author approved of their being divorced from one another; and this it seems had piqued *Atticus*, who was unwilling that his Sister should be thus exposed.

I from

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from wishing for any Relaxation of the present Ties that subsist between us. As to my Brother, I am no Stranger to the harsh Expressions he often throws out upon this Subject ; but I have as often brought him again into Temper. I believe you are sensible of this. Now in our late Journey or Campaign, I have often seen him in a Passion, and often in a good Humour. I know not what he has written to *Statius*, but, whatever Resolution he may have come to, it was indecent for him to correspond with his Freedman upon so delicate a Point. For my own Part, it shall be my principal Study to prevent his taking any Step that may vex us, or may be improper in itself. In an Affair of this Nature, every Friend ought to exert himself to the utmost ; but the chief Burthen of this Duty falls upon young *Cicero*, who is now more than a Boy. I am not wanting to him in my Counsel on this Head, and I think he has a most tender and becoming Affection for his Mother, and is wonderfully fond of you likewise. He has indeed a fine Genius, but I have my own Difficulties in managing his Spirit, which is not a little untractable.

Having thus answered the last Page of your Letter in the first Page of mine, I now return to the first Page of yours. I have supposed, that all the Cities of *Peloponnesus* were maritime, upon the Strength of no obscure Authority, but such a one as you approve of, I mean the Geography of *Dicaearchus*. In *Chæron's* Narrative of the Descent into the Cave of *Trophonius* (1), he blames the
Greeks

(1) This regards some Passages of our Author's Book upon Government, which *Atticus* was not quite satisfied with. This
Chæron

Greeks on many Accounts for being so fond of the Seaside ; nor does he mention a Place in all the *Peloponnesus*, that is not maritime. Notwithstanding the Regard I have for the Author, who was a good Historian (1), and lived in *Peloponnesus*, yet still I was struck, and not knowing what judgment to form, I consulted *Dionysius*. At first he was at a Loïs; but at last he gave it entirely for *Dicæarchus*, who has as much Credit with him as your Banker has with you, or mine with me (2). He pronounced a Place call'd *Lepreon* to be a Sea town of *Arcadia*. As to *Tene* (3) *Aliphera* and *Iritia*, he was of Opinion, that they were built (4) since the *Trojan* War, and as a Proof of this he produced *Homer's* Catalogue of Ships (5) where no such Places are mentioned. Now I transcribed this Passage from *Dicæarchus* verbatim into my own Work. I am sensible I ought to write *Phliasios*, and you'll take care to make that Correction in your, as I have done in my, Copy. But, at first Sight, the Similitude (6) of the Words deceived me ; for I believed that *Philountai* came from *Philius* (7) in like Man-

Cheron was supposed to be the Son of *Apollo*, and *Dicæarchus* put into his Mouth a Narrative or Description of the Descent into the Cave of *Trophonius*, so well known to Antiquity for revealing future Events. It seems *Atticus* was not satisfied with our Author's Assertion, that all the Towns of *Peloponnesus* were maritime, because *Arcadia*, which lay within *Peloponnesus*, was entirely an inland Province.

(1) Orig. ἱστορικώτατος. *Historiarum peritissimus*.

(2) Viz *Caius Vestorius* and *Marcus Clevius*.

(3) All those Places lie in *Greece*.

(4) Orig. πρόστιςα. *Nuper condita*.

(5) Orig. τῶ τῶ νῦν καταλόγῳ. *Navium enumeratione*.

(6) Orig. ἀναλογία. *Analogia*.

(7) Orig. Φιλῆς, Ὠρεῖς, Σιπῆς. *Philous, Opous, Sipous*.

ner, as *Opontioi* from *Opous*, and *Sipountioi* from *Sipous* (1). But I soon was convinced of this Mistake.

I perceive that my Moderation and Disinterestedness gives you Pleasure, but how would it be enhanced were you here in Person. O! had you been but present at the Court of Justice, which I held from the 13th of *February* to the 1st of *May*, for all the Divisions of my Government, excepting *Cilicia*! There I performed Wonders indeed. So many were the Cities that were discharged from all the public Debt; so many that were greatly relieved, while all of them, being judged by their own Laws and their own Forms, recovered their Vigour by thus recovering their Constitution (2). I have given those Cities a Power of keeping themselves free of Debt, or making their Debts very easy, by two Means. The one, that during the whole Time of my Government, I have not put them (to speak within (3) Bounds) to one Farthing of Expence, I repeat it, not to a single Farthing. It is incredible how many Cities have discharged their Debt from this single Circumstance. The other Mean I gave them was as follows; it is inconceivable what Purloinings were made all through the Cities by their own Magistrates. I enquired concerning this of those who had born Offices in the Magistracy for these ten Years past, and who made no Scruple of owning the Charge. And therefore, to prevent a public Censure, they brought back on their own Shoulders the Money to the People. By this

(1) *Orig.* Ὀπόντιοι, Σιπώντιοι. *Opontioi, Sipountioi.*

(2) *Orig.* αὐτονομίαν. *Facultatem utendi suis legibus.*

(3) *Orig.* ὑπερβολικῶς. *Supra veritatem.*

Mean

Mean the People, without any Difficulty, paid to our Farmers of the Revenue all the Land Tax for this Term (1), of which, 'till then, they had not paid a Farthing, and all their Arrears of the last. This has endeared me to the Farmers, "and they'll be sure, say you, to remember the Obligation." Well! you cannot tell me more of that than I know.

In all other Parts of my judicial Capacity I proceeded with no small Address, and my Clemency has been joined to wonderful Affability. In giving my Audiences, I lay aside the State of the Governor of a Province. I suffer no Applications to be made to the Gentlemen of my Bed-Chamber. Before Day-break, I am walking about in my House; as I used formerly to do, when I stood for public Offices. Such a Behaviour is vastly popular and important, and, I was formerly so accustomed to it, that it gives me as yet no Pain.

I think of setting out for *Cilicia* on the 7th of *May*, where I intend to spend the Month of *June*. I wish I may do it in Peace, for we are threatened with a dreadful War from the *Parthians*, and I set out in *July* on my Return; for the Year of my Labour ends upon the 30th, and I am in great Hopes that it will receive no Prolongation. I have the Minutes of all that passed in the Senate to the 7th of *March*, by which I learn that our Friend *Curio* (2) is resolved to hazard every Thing, rather than that

(1) *Orig. Lustrum*. Viz. Five Years.

(2) The Senate had passed a Resolution the Year before, that in the Month of *March*, this Year the Consuls should bring in a Bill for settling the Governments of the Provinces, particularly those of the two *Gauls*. But *Curio*, who was a Tribune, and some of his Colleagues put a Negative upon it.

any final Resolution should be taken with Regard to the Province. But I hope to see you very soon.

I now come to your, and since you will have it so, to my, Friend *Brutus*. Believe me, I have done every Thing that I could effect in my Province or in *Cappadocia*. I have dealt, and daily deal, with the King, in all Shapes, I mean by Letters. I had him at my own House for three or four Days, during some civil Troubles into which he fell, and from which I delivered him. At that Time, and upon all Occasions afterwards, I did not fail to beg and entreat him upon my own Account, and to admonish and exhort him upon his. I know I made a considerable Progress, but his Distance from me prevents my learning precisely what Effects it has had.

With Regard to the *Salaminians*, for them I could compel, and I brought them to offer to pay to *Scaptius* his whole Debt, at the Rate of twelve in the Hundred, from the Date of the last Bond, the Interest being added to the Principal for every Year, but no longer. A Tender was made of the Money, but it was refused by *Scaptius*. "So, say you, you wanted that *Brutus* should lose somewhat of his Due, for his Security bore forty eight in the Hundred." But this could not be paid, or if it could, I could not, in Honour, suffer it. I hear that *Scaptius* repents his not accepting the Tender. He has some Reason; for that which he called a Decree of the Senate for suffering an Action to be brought on this Bond in a Court of Law, passed only because the *Salaminians* had contracted the Debt, in express Contradiction to the *Gabinian Law*, which
makes

makes all Bonds for Money, borrowed in that Manner, to be legally void. The Decree of the Senate, therefore, only gave this Bond a legal Validity, by which it is now pleadable in a Court of Law, as any other Bond is. But nothing was done with regard to the Interest.

Thus you have a regular Detail of what I have done in this Matter; I believe that *Brutus* will approve of it; I doubt whether you will, but I am certain that *Cato* will. But as to yourself, what! my *Atticus*, my *Atticus*, thou Herald of my Virtue! Thou Publisher of my Perfections! Darest thou, from those Lips of thine (as *Ennius* says) desire me to grant back to *Scaptius* his Squadrons of Horse, to enforce the Payment of this Money? Were you, (who write me, that you sometimes feel Pangs that you are not with me,) were you, I say, with me, would you suffer me, were I willing, to comply with such a Request? Give him, say you, but fifty Horse. I tell you, *Spartacus* had not so many when he began his Rebellion. What Mischief then might not such a wicked Band commit upon so open an Island? Have they not committed it? Reflect on what they did before I entered upon this Government, when they shut up the Senators so long in the Senate-House, that some of them perished through Hunger. For you must know that *Scaptius* had a Commission of Lieutenancy from *Appius*, which gave him the Command of some Troops. Will you then, whose Idea presents itself to my Eyes, as soon as I begin to form any virtuous, any noble Design, will you, I say, desire me to make *Scaptius* a Lieutenant? Besides, we came to a Resolution, and I convinced *Brutus* of its Expedi-

ency, to give no such Commission to a Money-Broker.

Must he have Cavalry, forsooth! Why not Infantry? This looks as if *Scaptius* were become a prodigal young Rake (1). "But, say you, the chief Men of the Island agree to it." A likely Matter indeed! when they came to me as far as *Ephesus*, and with Tears in their Eyes, laid before me the Wick- edness of those Troops, and the Greatness of their own Misery. Upon this, I immediately issued out Orders for the Squadron to evacuate the Island by a certain Day, which was one of the Reasons why the *Salaminians* in their public Acts, have so highly extolled my Conduct. But what Occasion is there now for this Troop, for the *Salaminians* tender the Money, unless you mean that I should dragoon them into paying Interest, at the Rate of forty eight in the Hundred. If I did, shall I ever dare to read, nay, to touch, the Works of your favourite Authors. Give me Leave to say, my dearest *Atticus*, that in this Matter you are too partial for *Brutus*, and I am afraid, too disregardless of me. I have acquainted *Brutus* in what Manner you have written to me on this Subject. Now, as to what remains, I favour *Appius* (2) here, all I can, and as far as is consistent with my Honour; it is with Pleasure I do it, for besides my having no personal

(1) *Orig. Sumptu jam Nepos evadit Scaptius.* *Scaptius* it seems had offered to maintain those Horse, which was very expensive, upon which *Cicero* rallies him.

(2) He was accused of Male Administration by *Dolabella*, but his great Friends interposed with *Cicero* to favour him, which was very much in his Power, because the Proofs against him were to be collected in our Author's Government.

Grudge.

Grudge at him, I love *Brutus*, and *Pampey* (1) is wonderfully zealous to serve him, and by Heavens I regard him more and more every Day. You have heard that *Gaius Cælius* (2) comes hither as Questor. I know nothing of the Matter—but I can't help having my own Thoughts—I don't love those Doings with regard to *Pamenes* (3). I hope to be at *Athens* in the Month of *September*, and I should be extreamly glad to know the whole of your Rout.

Your Letter from *Corcyra* acquainted me of the egregious Blunder (4) of *Sempronius Rufus* (5). I need say no more, I think *Vestorius* too happy in having such Advantages. I would have gossiped a little longer, but the Day now dawns, the Crowd breaks in, and *Philogenes* is in Haste. Farewell then; make my Compliments to *Pilia* and my dear *Cæcilia* (6), when you write to them; my Boy *Cicero* sends you his.

E P I S T. III.

THough nothing remarkable has happened since the Letter I sent you by your Freedman *Philogenes*, yet I think proper to write to you by *Philotimus*, whom I am sending back to *Rome*. In the

(1) His eldest Son had married the Daughter of *Appius*.

(2) This was *Carus Cælius*, surnamed *Calvus*, of a consular Family, whom, though our Author does not choose to brand expressly, yet he makes a shrewd Insinuation against him.

(3) See Page 283.

(4) *Orig. invidiar. Fatuam Simpliciter.*

(5) See Page 241.

(6) She was Daughter to *Atticus*, and so called from her Father's being adopted into the Family of the *Cæcili*. See Page 167.

first Place then, the Thing that gives me the greatest Concern, is a Matter in which you can give me no Assistance (because of the great Gulph of Land, and Sea that is fixed between (1) us); for it must be instantly resolved on. You perceive that the Term of my Government draws to a Conclusion (for I must leave it on the 30th of July), and my Successor is not yet appointed. Whom am I to leave as my Lieutenant in the Government? My Brother is indeed the most proper, as well as most popular, Man for this Employment: First, because no body better deserves the Honour with which it is attended; in the next Place, he is the only Man I have with me, who has served the Office of Prætor. For *Pontinius*, according to the Condition and Contract upon which he attended me hither, has left me for some Time; and no body thinks my Questor deserves it; for he is light, lustful, and covetous (2).

As to my Brother, I must let you know, in the first Place, that I believe it will be impossible for me to prevail with him to accept of the Lieutenancy. For he hates this Province, and to say the Truth, nothing can be more hateful, nothing more troublesome. In the next Place, supposing him to yield to my Instances, how can I answer for it to my fraternal Affection? A dreadful War is ready to break out upon *Syria*, and threatens this Province,

(1) *Orig.* ----- Πολλὰ δ' ἐν μεταχειρίῳ
 Νότος κυλίνδῃ κόμας' ἰουγίης αἰῶς. *Multus autem in in-*
termedio auster volvit fœtus leti maris.

(2) *Orig.* *Tagax*. This Word, which is an obsolete, though an emphatic one, properly signifies one who longs to be touching, from the old Verb *tago* for *tango*.

where, supposing the yearly Funds to be settled, there is nothing in readiness to oppose the Enemy. Will it, I say, be acting as one Brother should do by another, for me to leave him in such Circumstances, or can I discharge my Duty to my Country, by making a Thing of nothing my Substitute? You see therefore how great my Difficulties (1) are, and how much I am at a Loss for Counsel. What shall I say? I ought to have had nothing to do with any Point of Government (2). How much more desirable is your Province; you leave it (if you have not left it already) when you will, and you never are at a Loss whom to make your Deputy over *Thesprotia* and *Cbaonia* (3).

I have not yet met with my Brother, so that I know not whether this Commission will be agreeable to him, or whether I can prevail upon him to accept of it, and if I should, yet still I must feel some Uneasiness. So much for the Measure that gives me Pain. All the rest of my Conduct hitherto has been full of virtuous Glory, and virtuous Popularity, and such as does Honour to the Author of the Books which you so much commend. The Cities own me as their Preserver, the Farmers of the Revenue are, more than, satisfied. No Man complains of being insulted, and few have even felt the Severity of a just Decree; nor have they, who do, been

(1) It is easy here to perceive how very studied all the Difficulties our Author speaks of here are. The Truth is, his Brother had behaved so very ill in his own Government, that it was no Wonder if our Author was afraid he might be thought a very improper Man for having a fresh Command conferred upon him.

(2) *Orig. Toto negotio nobis non fuit.*

(3) These were two Estates belonging to *Atticus* in *Epirus*.

heard to murmur. My Actions have deserved a Triumph, but I will discover no Symptoms of Ambition for that ; nay, not the smallest thought of it, unless you, at least, advise me. This finishing Stroke in delivering over my Province puts me to a little Trouble, but Providence will conduct every Thing for the best.

As to the Affairs of *Rome*, you surely know them more fully, more frequently, and more certainly than I can, and indeed it gives me Concern, that I do not learn the true State of them from you. For here we have had a great many ugly Accounts concerning *Curio* and *Paulus* (1) ; not that I see any great Danger while *Pompey* is in Power, or even though he should be out of Power, provided he has his Health, but by Heavens I am concerned at the Fate of my Friends *Curio* and *Paulus*. I therefore beg that you will send me the whole System of our Politics, as soon as you go to *Rome*, if you are not there already, so that I may get it Time enough to direct and determine me with what Sentiments I am to approach that City ; for it is no small Advantage for one who comes to *Rome*, not to be a Stranger or a Novice as to what is passing there.

Hold ——— I had almost forgot somewhat. I have done every Thing, as I have often writ you Word, that could be done, for your Friend *Brutus*. Those of *Cyprus* made a Tender of the Money to *Scaptius*, who refused it, though he was offered it with twelve in the Hundred, and the accumulated Interest at the End of every Year. As to *Ariobarzanes*,

(1) They began at this Time to be suspected of leaning to *Cæsar's* Interest.

he

he has not shown more Readiness to *Pompey* on his Account, than he has shewn to *Brutus* upon mine, and yet I cannot entirely succeed for him. For he is a very needy Prince, and my Distance from him was so great that I could treat with him only by Letters, with which I incessantly pestered him. I have thus far succeeded with regard to Money-matters. *Brutus* is on a better Footing than *Pompey* himself, for *Brutus* has this Year received either Payment or Security for 12500 *l.* and *Pompey* has only received Promises of five and twenty Thousand in six Months. The Pains I have taken in the Affair of *Appius*, to oblige *Brutus*, is inconceivable.

What then am I uneasy under? The Friends of *Brutus* are worthless Fellows. Such are *Matinius* and *Scaptius*, who perhaps is my Enemy, because I did not grant him Liberty to harraßs the *Cyprians*, as he did before my Arrival, at the Head of a Squadron of Horse; or because I did not grant him a Lieutenancy, which I have never done to any Money-Broker, not to my Friend *Caius Venonius*, nor to your Friend *Marcus Lænius*. This was a Measure I concerted with you at *Rome*, and I have stuck to it ever since, but what can a Man complain of, who refused to take his Money when in his offer?

I believe that *Scaptius* of *Cappadocia* is well affected towards me. When I gave him the Tribuneship, which I reserved for him at the Recommendation of *Brutus*, he wrote me a Letter, that he did not chuse to act under that Commission. There was a Dog of *Publius Clodius*, one *Gavius*, whom I made a Lieutenant, at the Request of *Brutus*, who spoke and behaved very disrespectfully towards me.

This

This Fellow neither attended me when I went to *Apamea*, and upon his Coming to the Camp, and leaving it, he never asked me for my Commands. In short he manifested, I know not for what Reason, a Rancour against me. Had I treated such a Man on the same Footing with my other Lieutenants! what a mean Opinion must you have had of me, should I, who, you know, never could bear the Insolence of the greatest *Roman* have stooped to that of such a Varlet; or, what is more, given him Employment under a Commission of Honour and Profit? The same *Gavius* therefore, when he lately saw me at *Apamea*, on his Return to *Rome* accosted me in a Manner that I would not have ventured to have used to a Pimp. Where, says he, do you direct me to receive my Salary as *Præfect*? Those who were by, thought my Answer too mild for my Provocation. I told him, that I never had proposed to give any Salary to those whom I had never employed in any Business, and, upon this, he went off in a Passion. If *Brutus* shall suffer himself to be affected by the Wrath of such a Scoundrel as this; you shall have him all to yourself for me, for I will not rival you in his Affections. But I am persuaded he will behave as becomes him for the future; I was willing, however, that you should be acquainted with the whole Matter, and I have written a most particular Account of it to himself. But by the bye, (though it is to go no further) I never received a Letter from *Brutus*, (I will not even except the last one concerning *Atropius*,) that had not in it somewhat harsh(1) and

(1) *Orig. ἀνομιαν. Aliena a familiari consuetudine.*

arrogant,

arrogant. This puts me in Mind of what you often used to repeat.

————— *For Granius (1) thought
His dear Self, somewhat; and all Tyrants, nought.*

But this Manner of *Brutus* raises my Mirth, rather than my Indignation, though, to say the Truth, he is too regardless of what he writes, and to whom he writes.

My Nephew *Cicero*, I more than conjecture, read some Letter or other, directed to his Father, because he uses to open his Father's Letters, and that by my Permission, lest there should be somewhat in them proper for us to know. Now in that Letter there must have been somewhat concerning his Mother that agreed with what you wrote to me. He was wonderfully touched, and complained to me with Tears in his Eyes. In short, I discovered in him great natural Affection, Tenderneſs and Goodneſs of Heart, from which I conceive great Hopes that he will turn out according to all our Wiſhes, and this I was willing you should know.

There is another Thing I muſt not omit. The younger *Hortenſius* (2) made a moſt ruſſian ſcandalous Appearance at *Laodicea* during the Shews of Gladiators. I invited him to Supper on his Father's Account once, (and, on the ſame Account, only once) to ſup with me. He told me that he would wait for me at *Athens*, and go from thence, in my Com-

(1) This ſeems to have been a Verſe of *Lucilius*.

(2) His Father was at this Time thinking of diſinheriting him for his diſſolute Way of Life. Our Author's Sentiments on this Head are extremely delicate.

pany to *Rome*. 'Tis very well, Sir, said I, and indeed it was all I could say ; I believe in my Conscience that he had no Meaning in what he proposed, and I shall be glad of it, for fear of giving Offence to his Father, for whom, by Heavens, I have a great Regard. But if he should travel in my Company, I will take Care to behave so as to give him no Offence, for I am sure it is far from my Thoughts.

Having said this, I must not forget to put you in Mind to send me the Oration of *Quintus Celer* against *Marcus Servilius*. Write to me as soon as possible ; if nothing is passing, let me know so much, though it were by your Secretary. Make my Compliments to your Wife and Daughter, and farewell.

E P I S T. IV.

ON the 5th of *June* I arrived at *Tarsus*, where I was greatly embarrassed; *Syria* (1) threatened with War! *Cilicia* over-run with Robbers! my Government almost expired, and therefore the Measures of my Administration the more difficult to be enforced! but, above all, was the Difficulty of substituting a proper Deputy according to the Resolution of the Senate. I had heard nothing of *Cælius*, and my Questor *Mescinius* was the most un-

(1) *Orig. Magnum in Syria bellum*. Though I have translated this Passage in the same Sense as Monsieur *Mongault* has, who observes, that there was no War actually at that Time in *Syria*; yet I am not satisfied that this was our Author's Meaning, and that he was not imposed upon in his Intelligence,

fit Man in the World for such a Charge. The most proper Measure I could pursue, was the leaving my Brother in command, and yet with what Millions of Difficulties is that Measure attended! My Departure, a threatening War, and a mutinous Army, a Curse on such a Situation! But let Fortune see to it, since we have so little Time to employ Foresight.

I expect you are now got safe to *Rome*, and if you are, I hope you will continue your Goodness in looking after all my Concerns, especially my Daughter. When you was in *Greece*, I wrote to my Wife my Sentiments upon her Contract (1). In the next Place, I beg you to have some regard to the public Honours (2) that ought to be decreed to me, for I am afraid my Motion upon my Letters has been but slightly handled in the Senate, because of your Absence from *Rome*.

I shall but just hint (3) the last Thing I have to recommend to you. Your own Quickness will explain it. My Wife's Freedman, you know whom I mean, from some incautious Expressions he let fall, seems unable to make up his Accounts of his Bargain of the *Crotonian* Tyrannicid's (4) Effects. I am afraid you don't understand me, but if you comprehend the last Word (5) you may know all the

(1) *Orig. Conditione.*

(2) *Viz.* Prayers and Thanksgivings in public, for the Advantages he had gained in War.

(3) *Orig. μυστικῶς. Secretius.*

(4) *Viz. Milo*, who killed *Cladius*, and was of the same Name with the famous Wrestler, *Milo of Crotona*.

(5) There is something very particular in *Cicero*, writing all this not only in *Greek*, but in so covert a Manner. It is true his

the rest (1). I dare not be so particular as I could be. Do not you however fail to write me as soon as possible that your Letters may meet me. I write this in the Hurry of a March, and the Midst of an Army. My Compliments to *Pilia*, and your charming Daughter *Cæcilia*.

E P I S T. V.

I WISH you Joy of your Arrival at *Rome*, if you shall be there before this comes to your Hand, for while you was in *Epirus*, to me, you seemed to be at a greater Distance than if you had been at *Rome*, because I was kept more ignorant of what was doing both in my own Affairs, and those of the Public. I hope indeed that before this reaches you, I shall be a good way on my Road to *Rome*; but, notwithstanding that, write me frequently and fully concerning all Matters, especially of what I wrote to you before, that I have for some time suspected, from the confused inconsistent Talk of my Wife's Freedman, in several Companies, that he cannot make up his Account of

his Letters were often liable to be intercepted or miscarried, but the Reader will see a larger Explanation of this Matter in Note 2. Page. 251.

(1) *Orig.* τῆς δαμάτρός μου ὁ ἀπειλῦθις (οἶδα ὅτι λέγω) ἰδοὺ μοι πρῶτον, ἐξ ἧν ἀλογισμῶν παρεφθέρητο, πεφυρακίαι ταῖς ψήφους ἐκ τῆς οἰᾶς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῷ Κροτωνιάτῃ τυραννικῶν. δίδωκα δὲ, μῦτον νόστης. εἰς δὲ πᾶσι τῷτο δὴ περισκηνάμενος, τὰ λοιπὰ ἐξασφαλίσαι. *Uxoris meæ libertus (nosli quem dico) visus est mihi dudum e verbis, quæ inconsiderate effutiebatur turbasse calculos, ex coemtions bonorum Crotonicæ Tyrannicæ. Timeo ne id adhuc intellexeris. Unum hæc uero disquirens, reliqua in aperto erunt.*

Milo's

Milo's Effects (1). Do you search into that with your usual Sagacity, and the more for what follows. From the City seated on seven (2) Hills, he gave *Camilius* an Account of an hundred and eight Pounds, and that he owed thirty-six Pound more out of the Effects of *Milo*, and seventy two Pound out of those from *Cbersonesus*; and though he has drawn from Successions about two thousand Pound, yet he has not paid a Farthing of my Debt, though the whole of it has been now due since the 1st of *February*; as to his Freedman, who is the Name-Sake of the Father of *Conon* (3), he gives himself no Trouble about the Matter. In the first Place, therefore, I beg that all this Principal may be forthcoming, and that you likewise will take Care of the Interest from the Day it becomes due. While I suffered him to be here, I was greatly upon my Guard, for he came to sound me with a visible Expectation of succeeding. But being disappointed, he flung away, saying I will yield. It would be scandalous to stay longer here (4). He then

(1) *Orig.* τῆς ξυπόρου τῆς ἡμέας ὑπεκλύθη. ἰδοὺ μοι Σαμα βατ-
ταρίζων, καὶ ἄλλων τοῖς ξυλλόγοις, καὶ ταῖς λίσχαις ὑπὸ πειθοακίαις τὰς
ψήφους ἐν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν τοῖς τῷ Κροτωνιάτῃ. *Uxoris meae libertus uisus*
est mihi dudum ex his quæ hesitans et aberrans dixit in conuenticulis
conturbasse rationes in bonis Crotoniatis.

(2) *Viz. Rome.*

(3) *Viz. Timotheus*

(4) *Orig.* ἰξ ἄστως ἰωταλόφῃ τειχῶν παρίδωκεν μὴν καὶ δ, καὶ η,
ἐφελκμάτων Καμίλλῳ ἰαυτὸν τι οφείλοντα μᾶς καὶ δ. ἐκ τῶν Κροτωνια-
τικῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Χιζρόνησιατικῶν μ ἢ καὶ μᾶς κληρονομίας χμ, χμ.
τάτων δὲ μὴδὲ ὅσων διαλύσασθαι, πάντων ἐφελκδάντων τῷ διωτρίῃ μη-
ρὸς τῇ κωμῆν. τὸν δὲ ἀπεικλύθηρον αὐτῷ, ὅσα ὁμῶνται τῷ Κόνῃ. πα-
τρὶ, μὴδὲ ὀλοχιῶς πεφροτικίαι. ταῦτα εἰ πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα πάντα
σώζονται. δεύτερον δὲ, ἵνα μὴδὲ τῶν τόκων ἐλγυμῆσης τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς προ-
κειμένης ἡμέρας. ὅσας αὐτὸν ἤνεγκα μὲν σφοδρὰ δίδωκα. καὶ γὰρ παρῇ
πρὸς

then taunted me with the old Proverb; implying, that a Gift admits of no Count or Reckoning (1).

Let us now see what Measures we ought to take in other Matters. Though, according to my Calculation, my Year of Government is expired all but thirty three Days; yet the troublesome Business of it grows upon my Hands. For while *Syria* seemed to be on the Eve of a War (2), and *Bibulus*, oppressed as he was, with his own Sorrows (3), was making the proper Provisions to repel it; his Legates, and his other Friends, sent me Letters to come to his Assistance. Now, though my Army was at that Time weak, I was indeed pretty

πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατασκηφόμενος, καὶ τι σχιδὸν ἰλιώσας· ἀπογνῶς δὲ ἀλόγως ἀπίστω, ἰσχυρῶς, ἵκω· αἰσχρὸν τοι δεῖν τι μέναι.

Ex urbis septicollis mœnibus edidit Camillo rationes vicinarum quaternarum, et quadragenarum oëonarum minarum; seque debere vicenas et quaternas minas ex bonis Crotoniaticis, et quadragenas oëonenas ex iis quæ sunt ex Chersoneſo: et quamvis ex hereditatibus quas adiecit redegerit minas sexies centenas et quadragenas, et sexies centenas et quadragenas, se tamen æris alieni ne obolum quidem dissolviffe cum omnia hæc debeantur jam inde a prima die secundi mensis; libertum autem ipsius, qui Cononis patri cognominis est, nihil plane curasse. Primum igitur hoc ut omnia serventur; deinde ut ne usuras quidem negligas quæ debentur ex die jam dicta. Per eos dies quibus cum pertuli, magno in timore fui: venerat enim ad nos exploraturus et aliquid pene sperarat: sed spe frustratus temere discessit, sic fatus; concedo, turpe quidem manere diu.

(1) Orig. τὰ μὲν δ.δ.μ. Quæ dantur. I have here expressed Cicero's Meaning, but the Original has several Allusions to Verses and Proverbs, which were so familiar between Cicero and Atticus, that it was sufficient for our Author to mention the first two or three Words.

(2) Orig. Cum enim arderet Syria bello. Bellum must here signify military Preparations, because there was then actually no War in Syria.

(3) He had lately his two Sons, who were killed by the Roman Soldiers, left by Gabinius in Egypt, after he had restored the Crown to Ptolemy.

strong

strong in Auxiliaries, though the Flower of them were drawn from *Galatia*, *Pisidia* and *Lycia*; yet I thought it my Duty, while I continued Governor of this Province, to march my Army as near as possible to the Enemy.

But what gave me the greatest Pleasure was, *Bibulus* (1) was not troublesome to me, but rather chose to write to me on other Subjects, and thus the Day of my Departure steals (2) upon me. When it comes, I have another Difficulty (3) to discuss. Whom shall I leave as my Deputy? for I hear nothing certain as yet of the Arrival of the Questor *Cælius*. I thought to have made this Letter longer, but I am destitute of Matter to fill it up, and my Spirits are too much burthened for me to be witty. Farewell then, and make my Compliments to your little *Athenian* (4) and our dear *Pilia*.

E P I S T. VI.

WHILE in this Province, I am doing all the Service I can to *Appius*, I am all of a sudden become Father-in-Law to his Impeacher (5). "I wish" say you, that Providence may bless the Match." I

(1) *Cicero* was at this Time ignorant that he was so much hated by *Bibulus*, that the latter declared he would risk all Extremities rather than be obliged to our Author for his Deliverance.

(2) *Orig.* λαλῶντως. *Sensim.*

(3) *Orig.* ἄλλο πρόβλημα. *Alia questio.*

(4) Meaning the young Daughter of *Atticus*.

(5) *Viz.* *Dolabella*, who was married to *Cicero's* Daughter, though not much to the liking of *Atticus*.

Z

with

wish so too, and I know you are in earnest in what you pray for. But believe me, that Match was so little in my Head, that I sent Expresses to the Ladies concerning *Tiberius Nero* (1), who had made some Proposals to me; but the Messengers did not reach *Rome* 'till after my Daughter's Marriage with *Dolabella*, who, I believe is the better Match; at least, according to my Intelligence the Ladies are wonderfully delighted by the polite obliging Behaviour of the young Gentleman. As to his other Properties, you must not be too particular (2).

But hear me again, have you made a Present of Corn (3) to the People of *Athens*? Was this your Will and Pleasure? It is true, as that Present was not by way of a Bribe to Citizens, but of Acknowledgment to your Entertainers, my Treatises do not condemn it; yet still you are desiring me to think of the Portico (4) of the Academy, though *Appius* has given over all Thoughts of raising one at *Eleusis*. I am persuaded you are greatly affected with the Death of *Hortensius*. My Concern, I assure you, is excessive, for I intended henceforth to have lived with him upon the most amicable Terms.

I have made *Caelius* my Deputy over this Government. You will tell me he is young, perhaps, foolish, giddy and rapacious. Be it so; but how could I do otherwise? I had received many Letters from you, in which you owned yourself to be

(1) He was afterwards married to the famous *Livia*, and was Father to the Emperor *Tiberius*.

(2) *Orig.* ἱξεραυθίζω. *Subtiliter indagare.*

(3) *Orig.* πρὸς εἰς δῆμον. *Frumenta in populum.*

(4) *Orig.* προπύλιν. *Vestibulo.*

puzzled

puzzled (1) in giving me your Advice concerning the Deputy I was to leave; and this encreased my Perplexities. I saw your Difficulties (2) which were the same with my own, with regard to leaving the Government in the Hands of a Boy; but still it was unreasonable for me to load my Brother with it. For I could with no Decency prefer any one to my Questor (especially as he is a Man of Quality) excepting my Brother. Notwithstanding this, while the Empire was threatened by the *Partians*, I was determined upon substituting my Brother, or even have risked, for the Good of my Country, my Obedience to the Resolution of the Senate, by continuing my Command here. But afterwards their very seasonable Retreat put an End to all my Doubts.

I foresaw what the public Talk would have been. What! He has substituted his Brother! Is this divesting himself of his Government at the End of the Year? What? Was it not the Intention of the Senate, that no former Governor should act as Governor of a Province, in Time to come; yet this *Cicero* was a Governor for three Years—— My common Apology runs in loose Terms, but with you I will be more particular. Consider under what perpetual Uneasiness I must have lived, lest my Brother should have in any Respect demeaned himself passionately, arrogantly or indolently. You know to what we all are subject. Then we are to consider his Son is little better than a Boy, and a Boy who presumes not a little upon his own Abilities. How cutting this must have been to me, especially

(1) *Orig. ἐπιχῶν. Dubitare.*

(2) *Orig. ἐποχῆς. Dubitationis.*

as his Father would not part with him, and took it amiss that you was of Opinion he should. I shall not pretend to say how *Cælius* will turn out; but I am sure I am at present under much less Concern.—

You are likewise to consider that *Pompey*, flourishing as he is in public Power, and rooted in public Affections, made Choice of *Quintus Cassius*, as *Cæsar* did of *Antonius*, and that too without having Recourse to Lots, and shall I affront the Man that has been assigned me by Lot (1), and even provoke him to impeach the Conduct of any other Person, whom I shall leave as my Substitute? What I have done is more adviseable, and more guarded by Precedents, and, at the same Time, more suited to the Repose of my old Age. But good Heavens! into what Favour have I brought you with *Cælius*? I have read to him Letters, as coming from you, though in reality they were dictated by me to your Secretary (2) here. The Letters of my Friends invite me to a Triumph, a Thing, in my Opinion which I ought not to neglect, now that I am entering upon a new Career of Life (3). Therefore,

(1) *Quintus Cassius* and *Antonius* were both of them young Men, as well as *Cælius* was. *Cicero* therefore had the Advantage over their Principals, that *Cælius* had fallen by Lot to be his Substitute, for though the Principal might have rejected the Substitute, notwithstanding the Lot falling upon him, yet still there was less Appearance of Partiality, than if he had been chosen through Affection or Interest.

(2) This was no unusual Thing amongst the *Romans*, and the Imposition was very practicable, as they did not sign their Names to their Letters, *Cicero* had with him, perhaps, one of his Friend's Secretaries, whose Hands *Cælius* knew, and therefore believed the Letter to have come from *Atticus*.

(3) *Orig. παλίσυμσίαν. Alterius quasi vitæ instaurationem.*

my dearest Friend, do you begin to second, and thereby justify, my Ambition for that Honour.

EPIST. VII.

THE younger *Quintus*, with great Affection, has brought about a good Understanding between his Father and your Sister; I urged him indeed strongly to do his Endeavours; but he was, of himself, sufficiently forward; and your Letters spurred him greatly on. In short, I am in hopes that every thing will be as we wish for. I wrote you two *Greek* ænigmatical (1) Letters before, concerning my private Affairs; and I wish they may have come to your Hand. 'Tis plain we must proceed gently; but yet by asking him, as it were, without any Design (2), concerning *Milo's* Effects, and by encouraging him to proceed, in a proper Manner, according to the Promise he made me, you may gain somewhat (3).

I have ordered my Questor *Meschinus* to wait at *Laodicea*, so as that I may leave two Copies of my Accounts after they are made up, at two Cities in my Government, as the *Julian* Law prescribes. I intend to go to *Rhodes* on account of our Boys; and thence to make the best of my Way to *Athens*, though the freshning Gales (4) are strongly set in

(1) Orig. ἐν αἰνσμοῖς. *Ænigmatice*.

(2) Orig. ἀφιδῶς. *Simpliciter*.

(3) Meaning with *Philotimus*, Cicero's Freedman. See Epist. 4. and 5 of this book.

(4) Orig. ἑσπέρæ. These were a Kind of Trade Winds or Monsoons, according to some Authors, but I do not find that they always blew from one Quarter, and we have many express Authorities that they did not. I have therefore kept to a general Term in translating this Word.

against me. But the Truth is, I am determined to be at *Rome*, while the present Magistrates are in Office, for they have greatly befriended me in the Matter of the Thanksgivings (1). But I beg you will write me beforehand whether I ought, upon any public Account, to delay my Journey. *Tyro* would have writ Letters to you, had I not left him very sick at *Iffus*; though I am told he is much better now. I am in pain, however, about him, for surely never was there a more virtuous, or a more industrious Youth.

EPIST. VIII.

WHEN I had propos'd to write to you, and had my Pen in my Hand for that Purpose, *Battonius* came directly from on Ship-Board to my House at *Ephesus*, and gave me your Letter on the last of *September*. I was greatly pleas'd with the Thoughts of your pleasant Voyage, of your happy Rencounter with *Pilia*, and to say the Truth, with her Discourse of my charming *Tullia's* Marriage. As to *Battonius*, his Accounts concerning *Cæsar* were alarming and dreadful; he enlarg'd upon them with *Lepta*, in an idle, I hope, but surely a terrifying, Manner. He said that *Cæsar* refus'd, by any Means, to dismiss his Army; that he was back'd by the Prætors elect, by *Cassius*, a Tribune of the

(1) Meaning the public Thanksgivings should be put up for his Success, which was a Kind of a Prelude to a Triumph.

Commons, and by the Consul *Lentulus*, and that *Pompey* had Thoughts of leaving *Rome* (1). But hark you, my Friend, are you not sensibly concerned for the Disappointment of the Man, who used to prefer himself to the Uncle of your Sister's Son (2)?—By what Hands has he been baffled!

But as to my own Concerns. I have been kept greatly back by the freshning Gales; and the flat-bottomed *Rhodian* Boats, have detained me at least twenty Days. On the 1st of *October*, as I was going on board at *Ephesus*, I gave this Letter to *Lucius Tarquitius*, who was sailing out of the Harbour with me at the same Time, but was carried by a swifter Vessel, while I, in my *Rhodian* flat Craft, and my other narrow Vessels, must wait for fairer Weather, and yet I make as much Haste as is possible with such Conveyances. You have been very friendly in your Care of that little Debt at *Puzzoli*.

Now I would have you throw your Eyes upon Affairs at *Rome*. Let me know what is your Opinion concerning the Right I have to a Triumph, which I am importuned by my Friends to demand. For my own Part, I should be pretty indifferent about it, did not *Bibulus* put in his Pretensions to the Honour, though he lived in *Syria*, as if he had no Concern with the Country, and kept as close at Home, as he did when he was Consul. If he has a Pretension, surely it will be scandalous for me to be

(1) Part of those Accounts were true, and Part false, as we shall see in the Sequel of these Epistles.

(2) See Page 276. Note 2.

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silent (1). But weigh the whole Matter, that, when we meet, we may be able to come to some Resolution. I need say no more, since I myself am making all the Haste I can to see you, and even the Bearer of this cannot be long, if at all, with you before me. My Son sends you a thousand Compliments, and both of us desire to be remembered to your Wife and Daughter.

EPIST. IX.

JUST as I landed at *Piræus* on the 6th of *October*, your Letter was put into my Hand by my Slave *Acastus*. As I had been long anxious to hear from you, I was surprised to find no more than a Note sealed up in the Form of a Letter, but when I opened it, I was more surprised to find your elegant, well-cut, Hand-writing, changed into a blotted confused Scrawl (2). In short, I needed no more to make me understand that, as you write, you had come to *Rome* with a Fever upon you the 19th of *September*. I was, as well I might, dreadfully alarmed; I instantly enquired of *Acastus*, who told me, that both he and you thought you was in no Danger, and that he had heard the same from your domestics. This seemed to confirm what you write in the Close of your Letter, that your Fever had not then quite left you. But how endearing, how wonderful was it to me, that notwithstanding your Indisposition, you wrote to me with your own

(1) Orig. αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν. *Turpe filere*. See *De Oratore*, Book 3, Chap. 23, Page 361 of the Translation, where *Cicero* himself explains the Allusion mentioned here.

(2) Orig. σύγχυσις. *Confusio*.

Hand

Hand ! But no more of this ; for by what I gathered from *Acastus*, I am in hopes, nay I am persuaded, considering your Experience and Temperance, that you are now recovered as well as I could wish you.

I am glad you received the Letter I sent you by *Turannius*. Have a sharp Eye (1), as you love me upon the Fellow, whose Name suits so well with his Qualities (2). Take Care he does not touch the Effects bequeathed to me, be they of ever so little Value, by *Præcius*, whose Death gives me vast Concern, because I had a great Value for him when living. You may tell him I shall have Occasion for the Money to defray the Expence of my Triumph, and that you know I will follow your Advice in neither being too vain (3) in courting, nor too indolent (4) in rejecting, that Honour. I have understood by your Letters, that *Turannius* had acquainted you I had delivered up my Province to my Brother. Have I then been so blind to the Maxims of your Letters, have I then so ill understood the Meaning of your Doubts (5) ? What could make you for a Moment hesitate, had there been so much as a Shadow of Reason to justify the resigning my Command to my Brother, and such a Brother too—I therefore took your doubting (6) in the Light of Disapprobation (7). You hint concerning

(1) *Orig. παραφύλαξον. Observe.*

(2) *Orig. ἐν τῇ φρεσὶ φιλοτιμίαν αὐτότατα. Conturbatoris cupiditatem quam maxime. Meaning Philotimus, whose Name signified covetous or ambitious in Greek.*

(3) *Orig. κενόν. Vanum.*

(4) *Orig. ἀτυφον. Sine ambitione.*

(5) *Orig. ἐπίχυν. Dubitare.*

(6) *Orig. ἰποχῆ. Dubitatio.*

(7) *Orig. ἀδίκησις. Improbatio.*

the younger *Cicero*, that I should by no Means leave him behind me, which is the very Thought that came into my own Mind (1). In every Thing else we tally in our Sentiments, as exactly as if there had been a Preconcert between us. I had no other Course to pursue, and your Doubts soon put an End to mine, because yours were of much longer Continuance (2). But I suppose you have received a more particular Letter upon this Subject.

To-Morrow I will send Couriers to you, who I think will reach you before our Friend *Saufeius* can, whom I have charged with a Letter, only because I thought it did not look well for him not to carry a Letter from me when he was to see you. Write me, as you promise, concerning my sweet Daughter, that is, concerning her Husband; concerning the Government, which I perceive to be in great Danger; concerning the Censors, particularly whether there be any Truth in the Report of bringing in a Bill about Statues and Pictures (3). I write this Letter on the 15th of *October*, on which Day you tell me that

Cæsar

(1) *Orig.* τὸ μὲν ὄνειρον ἰμοῖ. *Meum somnium mihi supp. narras.*

(2) *Orig.* διυχνεῖα διυχνεῖ. *Diuturna dubitatio.*

(3) This was a Measure of *Appius*, who was Censor, and affected a great Severity in that Office. But it came too late, and did *Cæsar* rather Service than otherwise. The Original is either *referaturne* or *referanturne*. I have translated it according to the first Sense; if it is to be taken in the latter, *Cicero* must be understood to want to know whether the Statues and Paintings which the Magistrates of *Rome* used to borrow for embellishing the public Places of *Rome* during their Offices, were returned to their proper Owners, because it had of late been

to ATTICUS.

347

Cæsar is to enter *Placentia*, at the Head of four Legions(1). Pray what will become of us? I now think myself safe in being lodged in the Citadel of *Athens*.

been usual for the Magistrates not to restore those Ornaments, but to appropriate them to themselves after the Terms of their Offices were expired.

(1) This News proved to be false.



CICERO's



C I C E R O's
E P I S T L E S
T O
A T T I C U S.

B O O K VII.

E P I S T I.


 T is true I charged *Lucius Sauscius* with a Letter to you, and to you alone, only because (though I had not Leisure to write you fully) I was unwilling that your good Friend should come to you without a Letter from me. But when I think of a Philosopher's Pace, I believe this will come first to your Hands. But if you have got that which I sent by *Sauscius*, you will thereby learn that I came to *Athens*, the 4th of *October*; that just as I landed at *Pyræum*, I received your Letters from my Slave *Acastus*; that I was alarmed at your coming to *Rome* with a Fever upon you; that was somewhat relieved by the agreeable News *Acastus* gave me of your being on the mending hand; that I was struck with Horror at what you write me concerning *Cesar's* Legions, and that I recommended to you to take Care that the slippery-fingered

gered (1) Fellow, whom I mentioned to you before, and to whom you are no Stranger, should not injure me. I learned, from the Letter which I received from the excellent *Zeno*, that *Turannius* had given you a false Information at *Brundisium*, and I have already given you some few of my Reasons for not resigning my Government to my Brother. Such is the Substance of that Letter. Now as to what remains.

I conjure you, by your Fortune, by the whole of that Affection you bear me, and by your Wisdom, which by Heavens I judge to be matchless in every Respect, that you will apply to the Study of my Situation. I think I can foresee a Convulsion greater than ever we underwent, unless same the Providence which delivered us from the *Parthian* War, in a Manner we had not the Presumption to hope for, shall throw an Eye of pity upon our Country. Well! I am not single in this Calamity, and it is fruitless for you to think upon what you cannot remedy. But there is a Consideration (2) that is personal to me, and in which I beg your Friendship. You are sensible, that by your Advice, I kept well with both Parties. I wish I had, from the Beginning, obeyed your endearing Voice of Friendship.

*But never could I think there was a Joy
Beyond my Country's Love — (3).*

At length, however, you succeeded in persuad-

(1) Orig. φιλοτιμία. *Cupiditas*.

(2) Orig. ἀνέλεμα. *Questionem*.

(3) Orig. ἄλλ' ἰμὸν ὑποτὶ θυμὸν ἐν γήρασσι ἴπυδες.
Πατρίδος.

Sed mihi nunquam persuasisti patria supp. quicquam effedulcius.

This Verse is taken from *Homer's Odyssey*.

ing me to keep well with the one, because he had done me important Services, and with the other because he possessed great Power. I followed your Advice so very punctually, that neither of them had a Favourite beyond myself. My Way of Reasoning with myself was (so great at that Time was their Intimacy) that while I was attached to *Pompey*, I never could be under the Necessity of acting against my Country, and if I followed *Cæsar* I never could differ with *Pompey*.

The Crisis is now come, and, from what you write me, I foresee dreadful will be the Struggle between them. Each reckons me his own, if I am not mistaken in *Cæsar*; for *Pompey* judges very rightly, that the public Measures, he is now pursuing, are quite agreeable to my Sentiments. Now at the very Time I received your Letter, I received Letters from them, in a Strain signifying that each of them has the greatest Esteem for me of all Mankind. How shall I behave? I do not mean when Matters come to Extremities, (for should the Appeal be made to the Sword, Ruin will be more eligible with the one, than Conquest with the other,) but I mean with Regard to the great Point that will be agitated when I arrive at *Rome*, whether *Cæsar* shall stand for the Consulate, his Absence, and his disbanding his Army shall be dispensed with? When the Question is called for, when it is put to me, what shall I say? Shall I conjure them to wait till I have consulted my *Atticus*?—No Sir, this is no Time for Shuffling.—Well then, shall I declare against *Cæsar*?—Where then is the Faith I plighted him? For I was the Means of a former Dispensation being granted him; and when *Cæsar* solicited me for my Vote at *Ravenna*.

Ravenna, at his Request, I brought over *Cælius* to his Party. But what do I say of *Cæsar*, I was solicited to the same Purpose by our darling *Pompey*, in that immortal third Consulate of his. Well then supposing I declare for *Cæsar*. Then shall I fear (1) not *Pompey* only, but the *Trojans*, Men and Women. *Polydamas* will be the first to throw my Conduct in my Teeth (2). What *Polydamas*? You my Friend, because you have approved of the Principles upon which I have hitherto acted and wrote. This is a Torture which I escaped under the Consulates of the two *Marcelli*, when the Question, about *Cæsar*'s Government, was debated. But now I am surrounded with ten thousand Dangers. And now (if a Fool may speak his Mind first) for my own Part, my chief Ambition shall lie in Preparations for my Triumph, and, without incurring Reproach, to be absent from *Rome*. But alas, they will find the Means to make me deliver my Opinion (3).—Well! I see you make yourself merry with my Perplexities.—Yes, I own I wish that I had remained in my Government. It was the only wise Measure I had to pursue (though a wretched one it was) had I known what was hanging over my Head.

(1) *Orig. αἰδέομαι. Vereor.*

(2) *Orig. Τρώας καὶ Τρωάδας. Πολυδάμαίς μοι πρῶτος ἔλκεται παραθήσει. Trojanos et Trojanas. Polydamus mihi primus probrum inferet.*

(3) Meaning either that some of the Parties would find Means to come at the Knowledge of his Sentiments, or that they would hold a Senate, for that Purpose, without the Walls of *Rome*, because no General, who solicited for a Triumph, could enter that City, and the Compliment, of holding a Senate without the Walls, had been twice paid to *Pompey*, when, like our Author, he was soliciting for a Triumph.

For,

For, by the bye (1), you must know, that all the fine Maxims, which you extolled in your Letters, are vanished (2). What a difficult Task is the Practice of Virtue, but to keep up its Appearances, for a Length of Time, is next to impracticable. For when I thought it a right and a noble Measure to leave to my Questor *Calius*, as much out of my annual Appointments as might defray the Expence of his Lieutenancy, and to pay the Overplus, which amounted to upwards of 3000 *l.* into the Treasury, my Officers had almost mutinied, thinking that the whole of that Balance ought to have been paid unto them ; as if forsooth, I owed greater Regard to the Exchequers of *Pbrygia* and *Cilicia*, than to that of *Rome*. But this made no Impression upon me, such a Value did I set upon the Approbation of my own Conscience. And yet I omitted no Circumstance of Honour towards them. But this, as *Thucydides* says, is no unuseful Digression (3).

Now as to yourself, you are to turn your Thoughts towards my Situation ; in the first Place by what artful Means I can retain the good Graces of *Cæsar*. In the next Place, how I can obtain a Triumph, which I think not to be at all impracticable (4), unless it is prevented by the public Disorders. My Rules of Judgment are my Intelligence from my Friends, and the Thanksgiving that has been decreed me, while the Man, who opposed them did me more Honour than Triumphs can be-

(1) *Orig.* ὁδῷ παράρρητον. *Obiter*.

(2) *Orig.* ἐπίτηκτα. *Fluxa*.

(3) *Orig.* ἐκβολὴ λόγου. *Egressio orationis*.

(4) *Orig.* εὐπόριστον. *Parabilem*.

flow (1). He was seconded only by *Favonius*, who loves me, and by *Hirrus*, who hates me. Notwithstanding this, *Cato* was one of the Committee present at drawing up the Decree in my Favour, and he wrote me a very handsome Letter upon what he had said in the Senate-House. Now you must know, that in the Compliment *Cæsar* pays me upon this Thanksgiving that has been decreed me, he plumes himself upon *Cato's* opposing it, and, without mentioning the favourable Part of *Cato's* Speech, he only tells me, that he had not voted for the Thanksgiving.—Now as to *Hirrus*, pray compleat his Reconciliation with me, which you have begun; you have *Scrofa* and *Silius* to assist you. I wrote to them some Time ago, and to *Hirrus* himself, after he had been talking to them as a Friend, and saying, that when he could have hindered the Decree passing, he did not; but that he voted with *Cato*, who was one of the best of my Friends; that, when he gave his Vote, he prefaced it with a Speech, which did me the greatest Honour; and yet, though I had sent Letters to every body else, I had sent none to him. He was in the right as to the last Circumstance, for he and *Craſſipes* were the only two Senators to whom I had not written.

So much for public Affairs, now for domestic.

(1) This is a fine and a true Sentiment; when the Question concerning the Thanksgiving for our Author's Success, came to be debated in the Senate-House, *Cato* was of Opinion, that our Author's military Atchievements did not deserve any great Notice to be taken of them; but his disinterested Conduct was such in his Government, that if Triumphs were to be decreed to Virtues as well as to Victories, *Cicero* deserved a Thousand.

I desire you will rid me of that Fellow. He is a mere Thief (1) and a very *Lartidius* (2). Yet with an aching Heart, I must put up with all that is past (3). Let us, however, take Care of what is to come, especially with regard to that which has added Care to my Concern, I mean the Death of *Præcius*, by which some Legacy, be what it will, has come to me, and which, with the Accounts that are in his Hands, I am unwilling *Philotimus* should embezzle. I have written to my Wife, and likewise to *Philotimus* himself, that I am to pay into your Hands all the Money I can possibly amass, to defray the Expences of the Triumph I hope for. This is a Pretext to which I hope no Objection (4) can lie; but they may take it as they will. You are likewise to turn your Thoughts upon what will be the most cautious Manner (5) to proceed in with Regard to my Triumph. For you remember your own Expression, “and in that too likewise I will assist you,” in the Letters you sent me either from *Epirus* or *Athens*.

EPIST. II.

ON the 14th of *November* I came to *Brundisium* with your Luck in Sailing. For from *Epirus* thither.

(1) Orig. *φουράρις*. *Centurbator*.

(2) This probably was some noted Rogue of that Time.

(3) Orig. Ἄλλα τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἰδόμεναι, ἀχρῦμαί τις. *Sed hæc quidem facta esse finemus, licet cum morore.*

(4) Orig. ἀμυψία. *Non accusanda.*

(5) Orig. *Quemadmodum experiamur*. Monsieur *Mongault* seems not to have attended to the Delicacy of this Expression, which implies “that he wanted to sound the Senate,” and it is not likely that it could have been about any Thing else but his Triumph,

thither was I wafted By favourable Gales (1)—There is a Tag of a Verse (2) which, if you please, you may palm upon our Youngsters (3), for your own. I am greatly discomposed with your Indisposition, which your Letters intimate to be pretty severe. For my own Part, as I know the good Spirits you are Master of, I am afraid that something very extraordinary must be the Matter with you, that could thus force, and, as it were, beat you into Despondency. Your Slave *Pamphilius*, however, told me, that you had got rid of one Quartan Fever, but that it had been succeeded by another not so violent. But my Wife, who came by Land to *Brundisium* at the same Time I reached it by Sea, and whom I met in the Forum, told me, that she had heard from *Lucius Pontius* at *Tribuli*, that even your lesser Fever was abated; I most earnestly hope in Heaven this Account may be true, and, the rather, because I am no Stranger to your Experience and Temperance.

Now as to your Letters, of which I received Thou-

umph, of which he was excessively fond, though he appeared to be otherwise.

(1) *Orig. Lenissimus Onchesmites*. It was no uncommon Thing for the Antients to give to Winds the Names of the Places from whence they blew. *Onchesmus* was a Sea port in *Epirus*; in like Manner they called a North Wind *Gaureus* from *Gauris*, an Island from whence it blew; and thus *Saron*, *Japyx*, and many others.

(2) *Orig. σπονδιαζοντα Versum spondiacum*.

(3) *Orig. τῶν νεωτέρων. Juniorum*. This Sneer gives us a charming Glimpse of the Character of *Atticus*, who at the same Time, in which he was employed in the highest Affairs of State, and the most sacred Duties of Friendship was the Darling of all the young, gay, witty Noblemen of *Rome*. I have given the Translation some sort of an Imitation of Verse.

sands at one Time, of which each gave me greater Pleasure than the other ; of those, I mean which were all written in your own Hand. It is true, I was fond of the Writing of *Alexis*, because it had so great a Resemblance of yours ; but I hated it because it intimated that you was indisposed. But now that I speak of *Alexis*, I have left my *Tyro* sick at *Patarae*. You know the Youth, and the least that can be said of him is, that he is honest and faithful to a Degree which I never knew exceeded. His Absence is therefore extremely inconvenient for me, and tho' he thinks himself in no Danger, yet I can't help being in great Concern for him, and my chief hope of his Recovery arises from the great Care which *Manius Curius* has of him, and of which I have been informed both from *Tyro* himself and from others. With Regard to *Curius*, he has been made sensible how fond you are of his becoming a Favourite with me ; the Truth is, I think him a very agreeable Companion, and the Fellow has about him a Turn of right *Roman* (1) Humour, which is extremely engaging. I have

(1) *Orig. Αὐτόχθων. (nativa et indigena) in homine urbanitas.* The Men of Wit amongst the *Romans* piqued themselves upon a Species of it, which was peculiar to themselves, in the same Manner as the *English* boast that Humour is the Talent only of *Englishmen*. We have in our Author's Works two Passages (not to mention many more) that explain and defend the Manner in which I have translated this Passage. *Moriar* (says he *Epist. Fam. L. 9. Ep. 15.*) *si præter te quenquam reliquum habeo in quo possim imaginationem antiquæ et vernaculæ festivitatis agnoscere.* "I know not a Man besides yourself in whom I can discern a true Representation of ancient native *Roman* Humour." And again (*Ibid*) *Accedunt non Attici, sed saliores quam illi Atticorum, Romani veteres atque urbani sales.* "To these are added a more than *Attic* Wit, that of old native *Romans*." These are our Authors Words to *Pætus*, and then in the same Epistle he goes on to

have got his Will⁽¹⁾, sealed with the Signets of our Family, and of all my Body Guards⁽²⁾. He made it in public, and left you his principal Heir, and me to a fourth Part.

I was nobly entertained by *Alexion*, at *Ætium* in *Corcyra*. My Nephew pleaded with me so hard, that I was forced to suffer him to visit the River *Tbyamis*⁽³⁾. I am charmed, that you have such Pleasure in your little Daughter⁽⁴⁾, and that you have

to give the Definition of that Species of Wit in which the *Graniis*, the *Lucilii*, the *Craffi*, and the *Lælii* were so eminent, and which he seems to confine to the Walls of *Rome*, or its original Territory. *Ego autem*, says he, (*existimes licet quod lubet*) *mirifice capior facetiis, maxime nostratibus, præsertim cum eas videam primum oblitas Latio, tum cum in urbem nostram est infusa peregrinitas, nunc vero etiam braccatis & transalpinis nationibus, ut nullum veteris leporis vestigium appareat.* "For my own Part (you may think of me what you please) I am wonderfully taken with Humour, and above all, with *Roman* Humour, especially, as I see it now quite daubed over, first from the Country of *Latium*, when Strangers were suffered to pour into our City; but now from trousered, transalpine Nations, so that now we cannot discern the smallest Vestige of antient Wit and Humour."

(1) This seems to be a Species of the Humour so much valued by our Author, and though the whole of the Passage is terribly corrupted in the Original, yet we know enough of it, that these mock Wills were often made by the *Roman* Drolls, and the *English* are not without some Specimens of the same Kind of Humour.

(2) *Orig. Cohortis Prætorie*. I have not ventured with Monsieur *Mongault* to restrict this Expression only to the civil Officers of our Author's Retinue. It is true he several Times distinguishes them by the Words *Cohors Prætoria*, which I take to be more of a military than a civil Appellation. It was properly the Governor's Body Guard, and was made up of two Sorts of People, the one of enlisted Soldiers, the other of young Noblemen, who served under the Governor by way of Aides de Camp, Quarter Masters General, Secretaries, Treasurers, and in other civil Employments as well as military.

(3) *Atticus* probably had an Estate near this River.

(4) This is a beautiful Digression from our Author's epistolary

have Experience how natural paternal Affection (1) is. Men could otherwise have no Call from Nature for those social Intercourses, without which the Ties of Life cannot subsist. God speed the Work of Generation, says *Carneades* (2). This is talking like a Brute. But still there is more Sense in it than in the Tenets of our Friends *Lucius* and *Patro* (3); for, as they suppose every Thing to relate to themselves, how can they imagine any Thing to be made for others? And when they mention the

lary Familiarity. *Atticus*, who was good Nature and Affection itself, could not help being fond of his little Daughter, and owning (though he was an *Epicurean*) that it was planted in him by Nature, a Principle which those of his Sect combatted; and which *Cicero* encouraged, and had lent him several Books to read on that Subject.

(1) *Orig. φυσικὴν τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέκνα. Naturalem amorem in filios.*

(2) There is a Passage in our Author's *Academics*, which throws great Light upon this Expression, which is in the Original *bene eveniat*, inquit *Carneades*, *spurcè* The Passage I mean in the *Academics* is as follows. *Honeste autem vivere, fruentem rebus iis, quas primas homini natura conciliat, & vetus academia censuit, ut indicant scripta Polemonis, quem Antiochus probat maxime & Aristoteles; ejusque amici nunc proxime videntur accedere. Introducebat etiam Carneades, non quo probaret, sed ut opponeret Stoicis, summum bonum esse, frui iis rebus, quas primas natura conciliasset.* "But we learn from *Polemo*, whom *Antiochus* chiefly followed; that the old Academy too held moral Honesty with the Enjoyment of the primary Gifts of Nature, to be the End of good Things; though *Aristotle* with his Friends came very near up to this Doctrine. *Carneades* too, not that he liked it, but, that he might turn it against the Stoics, adopted the Enjoyment of the primary Gifts of Nature, as the supreme Good." Had Monsieur *Mongault* and the Commentators recollected this Passage, it might have saved them a great deal of laborious Reading and Writing. It is plain that *Carneades* here approached pretty near to the *Epicurean* System, and the religious Expression of *bene eveniat* is no other than a Sneer, which he put into the Mouth of the Philosopher upon public Ceremonies, for which he and all his Sect had a hearty Contempt.

(3) These were *Epicureans*.

Duty

Duty incumbent on a Man to be virtuous, they mean only, least he should suffer some Prejudice in being otherwise; and that there is in the Nature of Things no moral Rectitude; such Gentlemen, I say, don't reflect that they are talking of a shrewd Fellow, and not of an honest Man. But those Matters, I conceive, are handled in those Books, which by your commending so much, have encouraged me to write in this Manner.

But I now come to Business. I was impatient for the Letter you had given to *Philoxemus*, (because you wrote me that it contained an Account of your Conversation with *Pompey* at *Naples*) when I received it from *Patro* at *Brundisium*, and it fell into his Hands at *Corcyra*, as I suppose. Nothing could give me greater Pleasure than its Contents did; for they are related to public Affairs; to the Opinion that great Man has of my Integrity, and to his Sentiments, which were so friendly on the Subject of my Triumph. But what gave me greater Pleasure than all was your paying him the Visit, that you might learn how I stood in his Affections; this, I say, was a crowning Pleasure. With Regard to my Triumph, I never had the smallest Hankering after it, till *Bibulus* wrote those shameless Letters, upon which, a Thanksgiving was decreed him in the most honourable Manner. Had he performed the Actions his Letters mentioned, they would have given me Pleasure, and my Suffrage should have gone for his Triumph. But for him who never, after the Enemy had passed the *Euphrates*, once set his Foot over his own Threshold, for him, I say, to be dignified with that Honour; and for me, in

whose Army, the only Hope of his army rested, to go without it, would disgrace us ; us, I say, for I joyn you to myself. I will therefore try all Means, and I hope I shall succeed. Had not you been indisposed, I had, by this Time, made some Progress ; but your Indisposition will, I hope, soon be at an End.

I am obliged to you for what you have done in that small Debt of *Numerius*. I am impatient to know what *Hortensius* has done ; and for News of *Cato* ; who, I think, discovered a scandalous Spleen against me. He run out in praise of my Integrity, Justice, Clemency and Honour ; a Favour I did not want ; but the Favour I did want, he has denied. Well, therefore, may *Cæsar* seek to avail himself, as he does, of *Cato's* most ungenerous, ungrateful Treatment of me, in the Letter of Compliment he has wrote me, and in which he offers me my own Terms. And yet—(you'll forgive me, for I neither can nor will bear it,) this very *Cato* voted for a Thanksgiving of twenty Days to *Bibulus*.

I should gladly answer the whole of your Letters ; but there is no Necessity for it, as I am to see you so soon. I must, however, speak to you concerning *Cbrisippus*, for I was the less surprized at the other Fellow who is a mere mechanic, but a most compleat Scoundrel. But for *Cbrisippus*, whom, for something in him that I was willing to allow to be learning, I saw with Pleasure and held in Esteem for him, I say to leave my Son without my Knowledge!--Well! I shall say nothing of many other Reports concerning him, nor of his Embezzlements, but I cannot digest his running away, which, I think, is the most wicked Thing I ever knew.

I have

I have therefore adopted the old Maxim which is ascribed to the Prætor *Drusus* (1), with Regard to a Fellow, who, when made free, swerv'd from the Fidelity he owed to his Master when a Slave; for I will deny, that I set them free (2); especially as no Body was present before whom they could be regularly manumitted. You may therefore make what use you please of this Hint, I will stand by what you do. There is one most elegant Letter of yours, in which you treat of the public Calamities, and to which I have returned no Answer, and indeed what An-

(1) This probably is he who was Prætor in the Year of Rome 637.

(2) *Cicero* is extremely delicate, but, at the same Time, extremely free with Regard to *Atticus*. In all the openings of his Soul to him, he still wants to represent his Failings as the amiable Weaknesses of Nature. I don't know whether *Cicero*, in this Respect, did not impose even upon himself, and whether he had not a greater Share, than he was willing to believe he had, of Revenge, Vanity, Pride, and Envy; nor do I think any Man ever owed more Virtues to reading and Study, than he did. Nothing is more plain to me than that he made his own Person the Standard of all human Merit and Demerit; for every Man with him possess either the one or the other, in Proportion, as he flattered his Vanity, or served his Interest. The rank Envy he discovers in this Epistle, at the public Honours decreed to *Bibulus*, was perhaps very unjust, because *Bibulus* was intitled to all the Honours due to the Services of *Cassius*, who acted only as one of his Officers (*sub ejus auspiciis*) and whose Successes were so great as to check the Progress of the *Parthians*, who, after the arrival of *Bibulus*, were obliged to repass the *Euphrates*, a Step which our Author, from his Spleen to *Bibulus*, seems to impute to their unaccountable Mad-ness in foregoing so many Advantages as the Juncture presented to them. As to this *Chrysippus*, he had been Governor to our Author's Son, and had been made free by him. Notwithstanding this, he no sooner leaves his Service, than we find him furnishing *Atticus* with a Hint which he might improve, for denying that *Cicero* had ever given him his Liberty. In short *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, *Brutus*, *Hortensius*, and all his great Contemporaries, rise or fall, according to the Weather-Glass of our Author's private Affections. (See Note 1. p. 134.)

swer can I return, but that I was greatly concerned ? But I can now be greatly concerned at nothing after the Step the *Partians* have taken, in suddenly retiring and leaving *Bibulus* halt dead with fear.

E P I S T. III.

ON the 6th of *December*, I came to *Herculanum* (1), where I read your Letters which I received from *Philotimus*, and, upon the Face of them, I first had the Pleasure of seeing that they were written by your own Hand; and, in the next Place, I was wonderfully charmed with their most elegant Accuracy. That I may begin with what you dislike, and in which you differ from (2) *Dicaarchus*. Although, by your Approbation, I was extremely desirous of not being above a Year in my Government, yet it was a Thing that happened of Course, without my taking any Pains about it. For be it known to you, there was not so much as a Whisper in the Senate, that any of us Governors of Provinces, should continue in them beyond

(1) This is the same Town which was afterwards swallowed up with an Earthquake, and which has been so lately discovered. It lay near the Foot of Mount *Vesuvius*, and the King of the two *Sicilies* has got, out of its Ruins, an immense Collection of beautiful Antiquities.

(2) It is a standing Reproach to the Character of *Atticus*, that he laid it down as a Maxim to preserve a Neutrality during all his Countries Troubles. *Dicaarchus* thought this Maxim to be scandalous. *Atticus* had, it seems, thought, that our Author would have done better, had he not shewn such an extreme Impatience to return to *Rome*, because had he kept by the Government of his Province, he would not have been concerned in the ensuing Troubles of his Country.

the

the Time mark'd by the Resolution of the House. It is therefore none of my Fault, if I have not continued in my Government as long as, perhaps it might have been convenient for me. But, "what if this has fallen out for the best?" to make use of a common Saying, and, as appears in the present Case, a true one. For whether Matters be compromised, or whether the Cause of public Liberty shall get the better, I would willingly have the Glory of contributing to either of those Events, or have the Happiness of profiting by them: But if that Cause should fall, I must fall along with it, be where I will. Therefore, I have no Reason to repent the Quickness of my Return (1).

Had it not been for that Hankering after a Triumph, which I have been smit with, and which you too encouraged, you would have seen in me a pretty near Resemblance of the Patriot, I have drawn in the sixth Book of my Treatises upon Government. I need not be more particular with you, who are so much Master of all their Contents. But I could, without the least Hesitation, fling from me the Thoughts even of that Honour, were such a Self-denial more laudable. Well, be it so,—since the Courtship of Favour for my Triumph, and the Freedom of Speech for my Country, are, at this Juncture, incompatible. You are not therefore to entertain the smallest Mistrust of my preferring Honour to Glory. As to what you think, with Regard to its being more advantageous and safe for me, as well as more serviceable to the Public, that I should still continue in the Character of Captain General, we

(1) Orig. ἀμεταμέλητος. Non pœnitenda.

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will discuss that point when we meet together. For, though I am more than inclined to be of your Opinion, yet the Thing requires Consideration.

You do me no more than Justice in believing that my Heart and Soul is for my Country; and you form a right Judgment that *Cæsar* has not shown sufficient Respect for me, whether we regard the Greatness of my Services to him, or the Profusion of his Favours to others. You have touched upon the true Cause of all this, and what you write me, concerning *Fabius* and *Caninius*, is all of a Piece. Supposing those Things not to be so, and that he had lavish'd all his Friendship upon me, yet, as you mention in your Letter (1), the *Guardian* of *Rome* would have forced me to remember the glorious Inscription upon her Statue. Never would she have suffered me to have imitated the Patterns you propose in the Conduct of *Volcatius* or *Servius* (2); no, she would have prompted me to think and act like myself.

In this Resolution I could be soon determined, was there any Dispute but between two Men, who, at the Expence of their Country, are now drawing their Swords each for power to himself. If they draw them for their Country, why was she abandoned under this very *Cæsar's* Consulship? Why was I, whose Interest was inseparably connected with the Safety of my Country, abandoned the Year following? Why was *Cæsar's* Command

(1) Meaning *Minerva*, whose Statue, *Cicero*, before his leaving *Rome*, placed in the Capitol with the Inscription, *Custos Urbis*, the Guardian of *Rome*.

(2) Those two Consuls, like *Atticus*, kept a Neutrality between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*.

pro-

prolonged, and why by unconstitutional Means? Why did the Struggle become so violent, that the ten Tribunes of the Commons brought in a bill for dispensing with his personal Attendance? Those were the Measures by which *Cæsar* grew so strong, that all Hopes of opposing him now rests upon one *Roman*, who, I wish, had check'd his Power in its Growth, rather than have encountered it now in its Height. But since Matters are come to this pass, I will not give myself the Trouble, you advise me to, to call out, "which is the surest Bottom (1)." I know of one Vessel (2) in which I shall embark, and that Vessel shall be steered by *Pompey*.

But, say you, how will you behave when it comes to the Push; "Hear *Marcus Tullius*?" To be plain with you (3), I will speak for *Pompey*, and yet, when we are by ourselves, I will advise that very *Pompey* to an Accommodation; for my real Opinion is, that the Public is in extreme Danger. You, who are in the City, no doubt know more. But I can see one Thing; that we have to do with one of the boldest, and the most resolute of Mankind; that he will be joined by all who have undergone, and by all who have deserved, either, Condemnation or Infamy, by almost all our Youth, by all our well-known desperate City-Mob, by the Powers of our Tribunes, with the Addition of that of *Cassius*, and by all our Bankrupts who are more in Number than they are imagined. His Cause wants

(1) Orig. πού σκάφος τὸ τῶν Ἀτρεϊδῶν. *Ubi navigium atridarum.*

(2) Orig. σκάφος. *Navigium.*

(3) Orig. σύντομα. *Paucis verbis.*

only a Cause (1); in all other Means of Success, it is well provided. All Mankind therefore ought to try all Methods to prevent a Decision by the Sword. The Fate of War is always uncertain, but, on this Occasion, the Probability of Success lies against us.

Bibulus has left the Command of his Province to *Vejento*, and I hear he will be a great while on his Journey. *Cato*, in favouring his Demand, has made it appear, that the only Persons, who escape his Jealousy, are those to whom public Distinctions can give little or no Accessions of personal Dignity (2). Now as to private Matters; for I have almost answered your political Letters, as well those you wrote from the Suburb, as those of a later Date. But I must say one Word with regard to *Calius*. So far is his Conduct from altering my Sentiments, that I am convinced he will bitterly repent changing his Party (3). But I hear somewhat as if the Houses of *Lucceius* were adjudged to him; I am surprized you omitted sending me that Piece of Intelligence. As to *Philotimus*, I will do by him as you advise. But I did not, at this Juncture, expect the Accounts which he has exhibited to you. He has however omitted an Article, which, at his Desire I entered at *Tusculanum*,

(1) Orig. *Causum solum illa Causa non habet.*

(2) Orig. *Quibus nihil, aut non multum, ad dignitatem non possit accedere.* Monsieur Mongault thinks *Cicero's* Meaning to be, that the high Offices *Bibulus* already held made all future Additions of Honour unnecessary to add to his Dignity. But in my Translation it implies likewise, a Sarcastm upon the Person of *Bibulus*, which I think the Words will bear, and is extremely agreeable to the Sentiments our Author throws out about that great Man's Character and Conduct.

(3) He had lately declared for *Cæsar*, which, as our Author prophesies in this Place, he afterwards repented of, and suffered for.

in my Pocket-Book, with my own Hand, and for which he gave me his Note of Hand while I was in *Asia*. Should he discharge that, the Ballance of the Account, (as he states it himself,) between him and me, will be in my Favour. But if the Troubles of the Public will give me Leave, you shall have no Reason, in time to come, to find Fault with my Want of Regularity in my Accounts; and by Heaven, all my past Irregularity has been occasioned by the great Number of People whom I have served. I will therefore accept of the kind Offer of your Advice and Assistance in settling my Affairs, and I hope you shall have no cause think I abuse your Kindness.

You have not the least Reason to be alarmed with regard to the Field Officers (1) of my Guards; for the deep Sense they had of my Integrity, has brought them back to their Duty. But the Behaviour of none amongst them touched me so much, as of him whom you look upon as next to no body. He has ever behaved well, and especially on this Occasion. Tho', even when I came away, he intimated, that he expected a Dividend, and tho' he was thereby somewhat warped by Resentment, yet he did not hold it long, for he soon returned to his Duty; and unable to stand out against the very distinguishing

(1) *Orig. Serperastris cohortis meæ.* The *Serperastræ* were a Kind of Ligatures which went about the Legs of young Children to prevent their being crooked or distorted. In like Manner the Field Officers, *viz.* the Legates, Questors, Tribunes and others, were to provide against all Distortions and Crookedness in the Actions and Marches of the Soldiers under them. It appears that *Cicero's* Field Officers had fallen into a Kind of a Mutiny, as he hints before. I don't know whether his Account he gives here of the Manner in which it was quelled was very satisfactory to *Atticus*, or will be so to the Reader.

Marks I have given him of my Kindness; he declared, that he valued it more than all the Money he expected. I have received the Testament from *Curius*, and am bringing it along with me. I have perused the Legacies of *Hortensius*. Now I should be glad to know what kind of a Man his Son is, and what he intends to sell off. For I see no Reason since *Cælius* has laid hold of the *Flumentine* Gate, why I should not make myself Master of *Puzzoli* (1).

I now come to your Criticism upon the Word *Pyræum*, in which I have made a greater Slip in that being a *Roman*, I have written it *Pyræa* and not *Pyræum* (for so all we *Romans* pronounce it) than in adding the Preposition *in*. For I did not make this Addition to it as speaking of a Town but of a Village (2). And yet our Friend *Dionysius*, who is here, and *Nicias* the *Coan*, did not look upon *Pyræum* to be a Town. But I will enquire farther about it; the worst I can be blamed for is my not speaking of it, as being a Town, but a Village. I can, however, defend myself by a better Authority than that of *Cecilius* (who was far from being an elegant Writer of *Latin*, and who says *mane ut ex portu in Pyræum*) but of *Terence* himself, the Language of whose Plays is so pure, that they were

(1) The elder *Hortensius* had a Country Seat there, and *Marcus Cælius* being a Native of *Fuzzoli*, had bought the House of *Hortensius*, at one of the Gates of *Rome*, which gives Rise to our Author's Pleasantry.

(2) *Orig. Non enim hoc ut oppido præposui, sed ut loco. Locus* here signifies a Village, but perhaps more properly a Quarter or a Ward. Our Author has been foolishly blamed by *Sanctius*, or *Schioppius*, and other Grammarians for his Criticism here, as if they understood *Latin* better than he did.

thought

thought to be written by *Lælius*. *Hæri aliquot adolescentuli coimus in Pyræum*; and again *mercator hoc addebat, captam e Sunio*. Now if we allow Villages (1) to be Towns, *Sunium* is as much of a Town as *Piræus* is.

But knowing you to be a Grammarian, if you can resolve me in one Difficulty (2), you will ease me of vast Trouble. The great Man you know who, (3) sends me very civil Letters, as does *Balbus*, in his Name. With Regard to myself, I have laid it down as my fixed Resolution, never to swerve from the most glorious of all Causes; but you know how much I still owe him. Are you not therefore apprehensive, if I should act coldly, that this Debt may be thrown in my Teeth; or that he may call upon me for Payment, should I act with Vigour. How will you solve this Difficulty? "Why! pay him off;" say, you. Be it so, we will borrow the Money of the Banker *Cælius*. I would have you, however, think of this. For, should I happen to distinguish myself in my Country's Cause, in the Senate-House, I make no Doubt but your *Spanish* Friend (4), as I am leaving the House, will tell me, "pray, Sir, pay us the Money you owe us."

What have I more to say? Yes, my Son-in-Law has endeared himself to me, my Wife and my Daughter, by his fine Understanding and his good Nature. Those are Qualities sufficient to make amends for the other little Failings you know of. For you know what Kind of Persons I have found

(1) Orig. *δῆμοι*. *Vicos*.

(2) Orig. *ζήτημα*. *Questionem*.

(3) Meaning *Cæsar*.

(4) Meaning *Balbus*, who was a Native of *Spain*.

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all the other Suitors to be, excepting the Person whom I treated with, thro' you, and who thought to catch me, by telling me, that he did not owe a Farthing of Debt (1). This might be true, for a very good Reason, because no body will lend him. But of this when we meet. For there is a Variety of Talk. I am in hopes of *Tyro's* Recovering, through the Care of *Manius Curio*, whom I have acquainted in Writing that you would take his Cares kindly. Dated the 9th of *December* from the House of *Pontius* at *Trebuli*.

EPIST. IV.

I HAVE sent off *Dionysius* to you, not without doing Violence to myself; but his Impatience to see you was such, that I was forced to yield. To say that he is learned, is saying no more than I have known of him a long while; but I have found him blameless in his Morals, full of Affection and good Manners, zealous for my Glory, an excellent Manager, and (that I may not seem to speak of him as a Freedman) a Gentleman of Merit in all Respects. On the 10th of *December* I saw *Pompey*, and we were in Company together about two Hours. He seemed to be overjoyed at my Return; he encouraged me sue for my Triumph, and to declare myself of his Party; he cautioned me not to appear in the Senate, until I had secured my Point, lest in the Debates I might give Offence to some one or

(1) The Original here is so very mutilated, that I have been obliged to grope out the Meaning.

other

other of the Tribunes. In short, so far as good Words went, no Man could be more obliging.

With Regard to public Affairs, he talked as if he had no Doubt of a War ensuing. He did not drop a Syllable that gave Hopes of an Accommodation, and said that he had received a fresh Proof of what he had been before convinced of, that *Cæsar* had totally broken with him, for that *Hirtius* (1), though amongst the most intimate of his Friends, had come to *Rome* from *Cæsar*, without coming near him; that he arrived in the Evening of the 6th of *December*, and that after settling the whole of his Business with *Balbus*, the latter had agreed to see *Scipio* before the Day-break on the 7th; that in the Dead of the Night he set out for *Cæsar*, and this he looked upon as a Prognostic (2) of a declared Breach. Upon the whole, I have only this to hope for, that the Man whose very Enemies offer him a second Consulship, and whom Fortune has already raised to supreme Power, will not be so mad as to put all he has gained upon the Chance of War. But should his Ambition be powerful enough to push him on to this; what Calamities do I foresee? Calamities that I dare not describe. But as Matters are now situated, I think of reaching the Suburbs of *Rome* by the 3d of *January*.

(1) This was the same *Hirtius* who wrote the Commentaries, and who, upon *Cæsar's* Death, was chosen Consul. By all that appears of *Pompey* from our Author, a civil War was at this Time unavoidable, and was as necessary for bringing about the Views of *Pompey*, as those of *Cæsar*. But what the Views of *Pompey* were, is not so clear from History. I cannot, however, believe that he intended to subvert the Constitution.

(4) Orig. *τυμνησις*. *Indicium*.

EPIST. V.

I Received a Heap of your Letters at one Time, and though I had fresher Intelligence than they brought me, yet they gave me Pleasure, because they were so many Proofs of your Zeal and Affection for me. I am concerned that your Indisposition still continues, and that your Trouble will be encreased by your Wife falling into the same Kind of Disease. Both of you therefore ought to use all Means of Recovery. I see you are anxious about *Tyro*. I own, the young Man, when in Health, is wonderfully useful to me in my Business, as well as Studies, of all Kinds; but still I wish his Recovery, not so much on account of my Interest, as of his Sweetness of Temper, and Modesty of Behaviour.

Philogenes has never spoke to me concerning *Luscienus*, but you have *Dionysius* to consult with in regard to other Matters. I am surprized that your Sister has not yet arrived at *Arce*. It gives me Pleasure to understand that you concur with my Sentiments with regard to *Cbryssipus*. I have absolutely laid aside all Thoughts of my House at *Tusculum* on this Occasion. 'Tis too far out of the Way for those who come to wait upon me (1), and it is inconvenient (2) in other Respects. But on the last of *December* I will go to *Terracina*, and from thence, keeping by the *Pontin Marsh*, I will reach *Pompey's* House at *Alba*, so as to be in the Suburbs of *Rome* by the 3d of *January*, which is my Birthday.

(1) Orig. τοῖς ἀναρτῶσι. *Obviam procedentibus.*

(2) Orig. δύσχεστα. *Incommoda.*

I am

I am daily more apprehensive of public Comotions, for even our Patriots are not so unanimous as they are thought to be. How many Knights, how many Senators of *Rome* have I seen, who have bitterly inveighed against the whole of *Pompey's* Conduct, and especially the unseasonable Journey he has undertaken (1). We stand in need of Peace. Victory, amongst other numerous Calamities, would be attended, with giving to *Rome* a Tyrant. But I expect soon to talk over those Matters with yourself.

I am quite at a Loss what to write you farther. We are equally well instructed as to public Affairs; with Regard to private, our Lights and Informations are the same, and the Power of *Cæsar* renders our Situation too serious for Joking. Nay, I am one of those who think it better to yield to his Terms, than to put the Issue upon the Sword. It is too late now to oppose him, after ten Years fostering up his Power against ourselves. "In what Manner then, say you, do you intend to speak in the Senate?" Why, nothing but what you shall

(1) *Pompey* was one of those Characters that refine too much upon the plainest Matter. as we have often observed from our Author's Words. He pretended two Reasons for this Journey, which indeed was very ruinous to his Party, and both those Reasons, in the End, turned against himself. In the first Place, he said it was improper that *Cæsar* should suspect he had any Hand in the Cabals against him at *Rome*, or in opposing what he demanded. In the next Place, he publicly gave out that a Journey into the Country was necessary to establish his Health. But his true Design was to see how the People of *Italy* stood affected towards him. In fact, they received him with the most extravagant Honours, which disgusted the wisest Part of his Friends, and made him presume too much upon his own Popularity, which Presumption was afterwards the chief Cause of all his Miscarriages and Ruin.

advise me to, and even that shall not be before I have either obtained or laid aside the Thoughts of what I am now solliciting. Take Care therefore of your own Recovery, and to chase away (1) your Ague, by that Observance of Regimen, in which you are so punctual.

EPIST. VI.

I Positively have nothing to write to you. You know all that I know, and I know of nothing in which you can inform me. I have observed it, however, as a sacred Rule, to write you by every Opportunity. I am in great Concern about the Public; nor have I hitherto found a Man who did not think it better to yield to *Cæsar* all he demands, than enter upon a civil War. His Terms, it is true, extend farther than they were generally thought to do. But why are we to oppose him when the Day of his Power is so far advanced? Even by yielding to him now, we do no more (2) than we did when we prolonged his Government for five Years, or when we passed the Vote that dispensed with his coming to *Rome*. All the Difference is, that at that Time we put Arms into his Hands, and we are now to encounter him when he has learned how to use them. You will ask me (2) then what are my

(1) Orig. ἀποτρέψας *Conterito*.

(2) Orig. ὃ γὰρ αὖ τόδε μείζον ἔσται κακόν. *Neque enim hoc majus est malum.*

(3) Orig. Dices, quod tu igitur sensurus es? Non idem, quod dixeris. Sentiam enim omnia facienda, ut armis decerneretur: dicam idem, quod Pompeius. Monsieur Mongault has, I think, entirely mistaken this Passage. He translates it, *Vous me demanderez, ce que je dirai dans*

my real Sentiments? Why, truly they are not the same with my Words. My Sentiments are, that any Concession is preferable to a civil War. But I will talk, and that too from no servile Motive, in the same Strain as *Pompey* does. For, indeed, it would be of the worst Consequence to the Public, and particularly unbecoming in me, should I differ from *Pompey* at this important Juncture.

EPIST. VII.

“**D***ionysius*, who has approved himself to me, likewise is a Person of the greatest Worth and Learning, and one who has a most sincere Affection for you, came to *Rome* the 18th of *December*, and delivered to me a Letter from you.” Those are the very Words you make use of, speaking of *Dionysius* in your Letter. I observed, however, you do not add, “and he is extremely obliged to you,” though ’tis no more than he ought to own, and had he owned it, a Man of your good Breeding would never have omitted mentioning his Acknowledgments. However, I will not retract the Character I gave (1) you of him, after speaking so fully, as I have done in my former Letter, in his Commendation. Be it so, then I take him to be one of the best of Men. In

dans le sénat ? peut-être autre chose que ce que je pense. Je penserai toujours qu’il n’y a rien qu’on ne doive tenter plutôt que d’en venir à la guerre, mais je ne dirai que ce que dira Pompée. Now nothing is more plain, than that *senatus* here, in the Original refers to our Author’s private Sentiments as well as *sentiam*; and that *dicturus* alludes to the Form of demanding and delivering an Opinion in the Senate, *Viz. Dic Marce Tulli.*

(1) Orig. *παλινδία. Palinodia.*

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one Particular he has done right, in giving me full Opportunities of knowing him thoroughly.

Your Information from *Philogenes* was very true; for he has paid what he owed. I gave him the Use of that Money till I should have Occasion for it, and he has had it thirteen Months. I wish *Pontinius* well, but I am apprehensive of the Consequences of his having, as you write me, entered the City (1). He never would have taken that Step without some weighty Reason. As the 2d of *January* is the *competitival* Day (2), for that Reason, I will not then go to *Pompey's* House at *Alba*, lest I should disturb his Domesticks, but wait 'till next Day, and, the Day after that, I will go to *Rome*. I don't know on what Day you have the Fit of your Ague (3); but I positively would not have you stir abroad to the Prejudice of your Health.

Every Thing, with Regard to my Triumph, seems to go smoothly on, unless *Cæsar* is practising underhand by his Tribunes of the People. For my own Part, my Mind is entirely at Ease, so that I can meet with no Disappointment, and the rather, because I hear *Pompey* and his Council have come to a Resolution of sending me to *Sicily*, as I have now the Title of Captain-General. This, you say, is stupid enough (4). For neither the Resolutions of

(1) *Cicero* had some Reason for this Apprehension, because *Pontinius* was one of his Lieutenants, and when the General was sure of a Triumph, his principal Officers commonly attended upon him when he waited without the Walls of the City.

(2) This was a Kind of a Holiday amongst the Slaves.

(3) *Orig.* λήψις. *Febris accessio*.

(4) *Oreg.* Ἀβδερτικὸν. *Abderiticum*. The *Abderites* were looked upon to be the most stupid of all People.

the

the Senate, nor the Orders of the People, have given me a Command in *Sicily*. But supposing the Public has vested the Management of this Affair in *Pompey*, why should he pitch upon me rather than upon any private Person, for that Command? If, therefore, I should find any Trouble on Account of my Captain-Generalship, I will leave that Title at the first Gate of *Rome* I come to (1).

As to what you write (2), that the Attention of the Public towards the Part I shall act, is excessive, and that there is not a Patriot, nor a Piece of a Patriot, who has the least Doubt of the Party I shall espouse. For my own Part, I do not understand whom you call Patriots. I know of none, I mean I know of no Rank of our Government, deserving that Appellation. Take them Man by Man, they are, indeed, very worthy Gentlemen; but, in civil Dissentions, we are to look for Patriotism in the constituent Members of the Body politic. Do you look for it in the Senate? Let me ask you by whom were the Provinces left without Governors? Never would *Curio* (3) have stood it out, had the Senate

(1) When a *Roman* enterd *Rome*, he immediately lost the Title of Imperator.

(2) The whole of what follows in this Epistle is wonderfully fine and judicious. and shows how wisely our Author could reason upon public Matters when he was cool.

(3) We have already seen that he had, as Tribune of the People, opposed the Resolution of the Senate for appointing Governors to the several Provinces, which opposition carried a great Point for *Cæsar*. *Marcus Marcellus*, the first Senator, whose Opinion was asked, voted that all the Tribunes should be obliged to drop the Opposition. But the Senate did not chuse to do this. This is a very remarkable Part of the History of that Time. The Tribunes had an undoubted Right to put a Negative upon this Question, and if so, I cannot see how

Senate gone into the Motion that was made, to make him personally liable for his Opposition, and the Consequence of not doing it was, that no Successor was appointed to *Cæsar*. Do you look for Patriotism amongst the Farmers of the Revenue? Alas! they never were steady; and now they are entirely devoted to *Cæsar*. Do you look for it in our trading, or in our landed, Interest? They are the fondest of Peace. Can you imagine that they have any terrible Apprehensions of living under a Monarchy, they, to whom all Forms of Government are indifferent, provided they enjoy their Ease?

Well then! Do you approve of indulging *Cæsar* in keeping the Command of his Army, after his Commission was expired? For my own Part, I was against even dispensing with his Absence; but when we granted the one, he could command the other. Do you think his Commission, for a ten Years Government, and the Manner in which it was carried through, were right Measures? Was it a right Measure to drive me from my Country, to rob the Revenue of its Campanian Estates, that a Commoner should adopt a *Patrician* (1), and a *Mitylenean*, a *Spaniard* (2)? Do you approve of *Labiens* and *Mamurra* (3) being Masters of immense Riches, and

how they could be legally forced to withdraw it. It is true, such a Force, if applied, might have produced great Consequences, but would it not have been unconstitutional, from whatever Party it proceeded?

(1) Viz. *Clodius*.

(2) Viz. *Cornelius Balbus*, who was adopted by *Theophanes*, a *Mitylenean*. The First was the Favourite of *Cæsar*, the latter of *Pompey*.

(3) Both these Gentlemen rose to immense Riches under *Cæsar*, for which they were lashed by some of their cotemporary Wits.

that

that *Balbus* should have his Gardens and his *Tusculanum*? But all these Calamities spring from the same Source. When his Stream of Power was weak, it might have easily been stopt. But now he is Master of eleven Legions, and as much Cavalry as (1) he pleases to draw into the Field. Think upon the Towns beyond the *Po*, upon the Mob of *Rome*, upon so great a Majority of the Tribunes, upon a profligate rising Generation, upon a General with such Sagacity to contrive, and such Boldness to execute. Yet such is the General we are either to encounter, or we are to gratify him in what he can already claim by Law. We will, say you, defend our Liberties with the Loss of our Blood.—But, consider my Friend, if you are conquered, you are cut off; if you conquer, yet still you are a Slave. Then, say you, how are you to act?—Why, like the Brutes, who, in a general Rout, always follow their own Herds. The Ox follows his Drove, and thus will I follow our Patriots, or those who are called such, even should they run into Destruction. It is easy for me to see what is our most eligible Measure in this desperate Crisis, since no Man can see the Event, should the Appeal be made to the Sword. But we may all easily conclude, that if the Cause of Liberty should fall, our Tyrant will regard, no more than *Cinna* did, the best Blood of *Rome*, and will be as rapacious, as ever *Sulla* was, of the Properties of *Romans*.

I have now gossiped long enough upon Politics (2), yet I have more to say, did not my Lamp

(1) The *Gauls*, of whom *Cæsar* was Master, were very strong in Cavalry.

(2) *Orig.* ἡμπελιτόμαί σοι. *Tecum ago de republica.*

fail me. Upon the whole when the Chair calls out, "Hear *Marcus Tullius*," I will vote with *Cneus Pompeius*, or more properly with *Titus Pomponius*. My Compliments to your Boy *Alexis*, unless he is grown, in my Absence, a young Man, which he bade fair to do.

EPIST. VIII.

WHY such repeated and strong Apologies for *Dionysius*? The least Hint from you was sufficient to convince me. The Truth is, knowing how fond you are of cementing Friendships by your kind Testimonies, your saying nothing at all of him, made me the more liable to Suspicion, especially as I heard of some Discourse he had with other People, concerning me in a different Strain. But I am now intirely satisfied of the Truth of what you write, and I entertain as favourable Sentiments of *Dionysius* as you could wish. According to my Calculation of the Days of your Ague intermitting, and which I formed upon a Letter you wrote me in the Beginning of your Illness, I reckoned that, on the 3d of *January*, you may without any Danger, meet me, upon Business, at *Alba*. But, for Heaven's Sake, do nothing that can retard your Recovery. A Day or two does not much signify. I perceive that *Livia*, by her last Will, has left *Dolabella* Heir to the ninth Part of her Estate, with two Coheirs for two Ninths more, but with a Proviso that he shall change his Name. Now
it

It is a Consideration in point of public Decency (1), whether it is right for a Youth of high Quality, to change his Name, merely on Account of a Lady's Testament. But we can discuss this Question more philosophically (2), when we know how much his Ninth amounts to.

It happened, as you supposed it would, that I saw *Pompey* before I came to *Rome*; for, on the 27th of *December*, he overtook me at *Lavernium*. We came then to *Formia*, and we together had a private Conference, which lasted from two in the Afternoon till it was almost dark. In answer to your Question, whether there are any Hopes of a Pacification? I must tell you that, by all I could gather from what *Pompey* said so fully and so particularly on that Head, there is not even a Disposition that Way. For thus he reasons. If *Cæsar* should be made Consul even upon resigning the Command of his Army, public Confusion (3) will be unavoidable. He is farther of Opinion, that when *Cæsar* shall hear of the earnest, mighty, Preparations that are making against him, he will throw up his Pretensions to the Consulate for this Year, and stick by his Army and Government. But supposing him to fly to Extremities, *Pompey* shewed a hearty contempt for all he could do, and as entire a Confidence in his own, and the Republic's, Forces. In short, though I was frequently check'd by reflecting on the doubtful Events of War (4), yet still I was made the more easy, when I heard a General of

(1) Orig. πολιτικὸν σκίμμα. *Civilis consideratio.*

(2) Orig. φιλοσοφικῶς διευκρινέσθαι. *Magis philosophice discutimus.*

(3) Orig. σύγχυσις τῆς πολιτείας. *Conturbationem reipublicæ.*

(4) Orig. ἐνὸς ἐνέδου. *Mars communis.*

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such Courage, such Experience, and Authority, discourfing, like a Statesman (1), upon the Dangers that might attend an infincere Accommodation (2).

Now you must know, that we perused together the Harangue which *Anthony* made to the People on the 23d of *December*, in which he pelts *Pompey* from his first entering upon life; impeaching him on Account of some *Roman* Citizens he tried and condemned, and threatening the Government with a civil War (3). Upon this, says *Pompey* to me, "What will not the Principal attempt to do, should he become Master of the Government, when a despicable inconsiderable Officer (4) of his presumes to throw out such Expressions." In short, *Pompey* seemed rather to dread, than to desire, an Accommodation, and it is my Opinion, that he came to the Resolution of leaving *Rome*, with a Design to render all Thoughts of Peace desperate (5). For my

(1) *Orig.* πολιτικῶς. *Ut verum reipublicæ peritum.*

(2) This Conversation, between our Author and *Pompey*, gives us a truer Idea of the Dispositions of *Pompey*, than any Thing we meet with in History. The Friendship of *Cicero* was extremely material to him on this Occasion, and as we cannot imagine that he would omit any Argument that he thought could influence him, so we can have no doubt that our Author is very sincere in his Representation of this important Conference to his Friend *Atticus*. Upon the whole, it is plain, that *Cæsar*, had he been willing, could not, with any Manner of Safety, having avoided coming to Extremities, and that nothing less than his Ruin could satisfy *Pompey*.

(3) *Orig.* *Terror armorum*. It is not quite clear to me whether this Expression is to be meant as I have translated, or of the Troops with which *Pompey* over-aw'd *Rome*, especially during the Trials here mentioned.

(4) *Anthony* was Questor to *Cæsar*.

(5) *Orig.* *Ex illa autem Sententia ira relinquenda urbis movet hominem, ut puto*. I cannot think this Passage to be so desperate as Mon-

my own Part, it gives me no small Uneasiness to think that I must pay, to *Cæsar*, the Money which was to carry me through my Triumph, for you know it is a Maxim, "different Parties, different Purposes (1)." But we will talk over these, and many other, Particulars, when we meet.

EPIST. IX.

"WHAT say you, am I to have a Letter from you every Day? Yes, every Day, if I can find a sure Hand to carry it, "But you are now at Hand in Person." Well, I promise you, when we meet, I will leave off Writing. I perceive that one of your Letters to me has not come to Hand, for, as my Friend *Lucius Quintus* was bringing it, he was wounded and robbed near

Monsieur Mongault, and the Commentators, have affirmed it to be. The former translates it *C'est peut-être parce qu'il faudroit alors qu'il s'en allât en Espagne*. But this Construction is warranted neither from the Words themselves, nor by facts; for we have nothing to induce us to believe, that *Pompey* could be so weak, as well as wicked, as to plunge his Country into a civil War, merely because, in Case of an Accommodation, he must have gone to his Government of *Spain*: though, in this last Case, his Antagonist must have resigned the command of his army. The Truth is, *Pompey* knew *Cæsar* extremely well, and had a thousand Reasons both of Ambition and Policy, for not patching up an Accommodation at this Time, and which he knew could last but for a very short while: I believe the Reader, therefore, upon consulting the Original of this Passage, will think that nothing can be more just than the Sense I have given, it since *Pompey's* leaving *Rome*, according to all Accounts, and according to what our Author has hinted before, was the readiest Way, he could possibly have thought of, to bring on a civil War.

(1) Orig. ἀμορφοί, ἀντιπαλινομήνιοι χρηοφιλῆται. Non decet, ejus qui contrariæ sit in rep. factionis, debitorem esse.

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the Monument of *Basilus* (1). You are therefore to recollect whether there was any Thing in that Letter material for me to know, and likewise apply yourself to discuss a Point (2), which will require all your Abilities as a Politician (3).

One or other of the following Cases must be ours. When *Cæsar* is continued in the Command of his Army by the Senate, or by Means of the Tribunes of the Commons, we must either grant him a Dispensation from coming to *Rome* to stand for the Consulate, or we must persuade him to resign his Government and his Army, and accept of that Office. The next Alternative is, that, if we fail in this, the Election should be held without considering him as a Candidate, but as an indifferent Person, though, at the same Time, continued in his Government. Let us suppose, however, that, not chusing either to be laid aside as a Candidate, or to make a Stir, he should bring the Tribunes of the Commons to put a Negative upon proceeding to any Election of Consuls, and thereby bring about an Inter Reign. Or again; supposing that he should so far resent his Pretensions to the Consulate being laid aside, as to march his Army against us, and reduce us to the Necessity of Fighting him. Now, in this Event, he will either attack us before we are prepared, or when the Election is over, without regarding the Solicitations of his Friends, for dispensing with his Standing for the Consulate in his

(1) He was a famous Robber who was buried upon the *Appian* Way.

(2) Orig. διυπερίσους ἀπόδομα. Solves questionem

(3) Orig. πολυτρονία. Que magnam requirit rerum tractandarum prudentiam.

Absence. Now the Motive for taking Arms, must be singly because he did not obtain such a Dispensation; unless, perhaps, a collateral Pretext should occur from some Tribune of the People (1) who, for putting a Negative upon the Proceedings of the Senate, or exciting a popular Commotion, may be branded or inhibited by a Resolution of the Senate; or else, being over-ruled and expelled, may, under Pretence of such Expulsion, throw himself upon the Protection of *Cæsar*. But be all this as it will, the Question comes, What are we to do when Hostilities commence? Are we to keep Possession of *Rome*, or are we to march out of it to intercept his Provisions, and cut off his Communication from the rest of his Army?

Which of those inevitable Calamities do you account the least? I know you will tell me you wish he could be persuaded to resign his Army, and to be made Consul. Why, really should he follow that Measure, I can see no Opposition he could meet with, and I should not be at all surprized if he should fail in obtaining the Dispensation in Question. But then again some are of Opinion, that there cannot be a more dangerous Step taken than to make him Consul. But say you, I would chuse he were Consul without, rather than with, his Army.

(1) I have taken great Pains to be explicit as possible in translating the whole of this Paragraph, which does so much Honour to our Author's Sagacity, and is so important to the History of that Period. What he foresees here actually happened. For *Antony* and *Quintus Cassius*, who were then Tribunes of the People, took Refuge in *Cæsar's* Army, upon the Senate's attempting to force them to withdraw their Opposition to a Resolution which the House had passed, obliging *Cæsar* to resign his Government by a certain Day.

Why, that is true. But it may be thought that even this, with all its Softening, is a Calamity; and let me add, an irremediable one too; for we must comply if such (1) should be his Pleasure. Behold him then, again Consul, and reflect upon his first Consulship; even then, you will allow me (though weak to what he is now) he was too strong for the whole System of our Constitution; then what do you imagine will he not now attempt? especially as, while he continues Consul, *Pompey* must certainly reside in *Spain*. To what a miserable Pass are we reduced? For even in that most dangerous Demand we dare not refuse to gratify him; and if he should be satisfied with it, with all my Heart, let him be the most popular Man in *Rome* with all our Patriots.

Let us, however, suppose, that, as the World believes, he will not rest satisfied with those Terms; pray which of all the others is the most wretched? Shall we yield, to use *Pompey's* Expression, to all his most impudent Demands? For surely they are superlatively so. "You have had for ten Years, a Government, given you not by the Senate, but by yourself, through Violence and Faction. The Time limited, not by Law, but by your own Ambition, is elapsed; but supposing by Law; it is resolved to appoint you a Successor; I will not suffer it, say you, and you must dispense with my Absence. No, Sir,

(1) The Original as I read it is, *Sed istuc ipsum sic, O magnum! maium, putet aliquis*. All the Commentators have agreed, that this Place is corrupted, but I have endeavoured to reduce it into Sense by a single Stop, without altering the common Reading.

you ought to dispense with our Compliance (1). Are you to keep the Command of your Army longer than the Senate has resolved, or the People have ordered? You shall either yield or fight;" and, to go on in *Pompey's* Strain, "we shall at least have the honest Satisfaction of either conquering, or dying, in the Cause of Liberty.

Now if War should follow, its Success must depend upon Chance, and its Justification upon its Success (2). I shall not therefore puzzle you with that Question. Let me know if you have any Thing to offer, as to what I have here thrown out. For my own Part I am upon the Rack Day and Night.

E P I S T. X.

I CAME all at once to a Resolution to leave this Place before Day-break, to avoid Discovery or Discourse of me, especially as I was attended by laurelled Lictors (3). As to what I am doing now, and what I shall do hereafter, by Heavens, I know not. So much am I confounded by this rash, in-

(1) *Orig. Habe mei rationem, Habe tu nostrum.*

(2) *Orig. Jam si pugnandum est, quo tempore, in casu; quo consilio, in temporibus fitum est.*

(3) The Reader is here to understand, that *Pompey* having abandoned *Rome* upon the Approach of *Cæsar*, and having ordered all the Magistrates and Senators to follow him, under pain of being declared Traitors; our Author, who it seems had not yet entered into *Rome*, thought proper to follow him, though he disapproved his Resolution. By his not having entered *Rome*, he still kept up his Title to a Triumph and consequently his Lictors carried their Fasces bound about with Laurel.

considerate Resolution. But how can I pretend to advise you, whose Counsel I stand in need of myself? What Steps our Friend *Pompey* has taken, or may take, I know not; but as yet he is straitened in his Quarters, by being shut up in Towns, and looks like one bewildered. If he makes a Stand in *Italy* we will all of us join him. But if he retires from thence, I shall be at a Loss how to determine myself. Hitherto, either I think madly, or he has proceeded madly and rashly. I beg that you'll write often to me, though it be only what comes uppermost.

E P I S T. XI.

HOW—Where—What is the Matter? I am wrapped in Darkness. We still possess *Cingulum* (1), say you,—Yes—but we have lost *Ancona*. *Labienu*s has left *Cæsar*. What are you then talking of a *Carthaginian* or a *Roman* General? Mistaken, wretched Man! insensible to every Idea of true Glory (2)! He pretends that all he does is to maintain his Dignity. But can Dignity exist without Virtue? Is it compatible with Virtue to continue at the Head of his Army, without the Voice of the People to authorise him, and to seize Cities inhabited by *Romans*, that he may open himself a more easy Passage to the Bowels of his Coun-

(1) This was a Town in *Picenum*.

(2) *Orig. τὸ καλὸν. Honesty*. I need not point out the Beauty of our Author's Sentiments on this Occasion, or how much Mr. *Addison* has been obliged to him for all the fine Things he makes *Cato* say.

try.

try? Not to mention the Bankruptcy of the Public, the Return of the Banished⁽¹⁾; and a thousand Crimes that are yet to be perpetrated before he can rear the Temple of tyrannic Power⁽²⁾, the only Deity he worships.—Curse on such Greatness—By Heavens I had rather enjoy one Day basking myself in the Beams of your *Lucretine* Sun⁽³⁾ than be a Monarch over Millions of Kingdoms acquired by Guilt like his. I had rather die a thousand Deaths than harbour one serious Idea at the Expence of my Country. You think, say you, for yourself.—And is there a Wretch who is not at Liberty to think? But I repeat it, I think the Man who thinks in that Manner is more miserable than the Wretch who lies extended on the Wheel. There is but one Misery beyond it, and that is, succeeding in the Attempt. But of this enough. In this melancholy Situation it gives me some Relief to unbosom⁽⁴⁾ myself to you. But to return to our Friend *Pompey*.

Tell me, I conjure you, by all that you hold dear, what you think of *Pompey's* Conduct; I mean in leaving *Rome*? For my Part I, can say only⁽⁵⁾, but that it was the most absurd of all absurd Steps. Would you have left *Rome*? you could have done no more had the *Gauls* been at her Gates. “It is

(1) Orig. *χρημὶ ἀποκομῆς, φρυγὰς καθόδου. Tabulas novas exulum reditus.*

(2) Orig. *τὴν θυν μεγίστην ἣς ἔχῃ τυραννίδα. Deorum maximam ut habeat tyrannidem.*

(3) Orig. *Lucretino tuo sole. Lucretum* was a Country Seat belonging to *Atticus*, in the *Sabine* Country, remarkable for its fine Air.

(4) Orig. *ἰσχυράζω σοι. Tecum philosophor.*

(5) Orig. *ἀνοχῶ. Dubito,*

public Liberty, he may say, and private Happiness, and not Walls, that give Endearment to our Country. I did no more than *Themistocles* before me, when the Walls of his *Athens* were too feeble to stand the shock of a barbarous Inundation. But *Pericles*, almost fifty Years after, followed another Course, when he did not possess a Foot of Ground that belonged to *Athens* without her Walls. And our Forefathers, when all *Rome* was lost, retired to and defended her Citadel.

*Such glorious Actions of our Sires are told,
How rich in Virtue were the Times of old (1) !*

But then again I judge, from the Resentment in the municipal Cities, and the general Talk, that he will be able to extricate himself from the Consequences of this Measure. I don't know how it is at *Rome* (and I beg you will inform me) but here, every body complains bitterly, that the City was abandoned by her Magistrates and Senate, and the Flight of *Pompey* himself made a wonderful Impression upon the Public. In short, it has had a very contrary Effect to what we imagined ; for now it is the general Opinion that no Concession ought to be made to *Cæsar*. Do you explain to me what all this tends to.

My Charge here is not very troublesome, for *Pompey* has appointed me to be Overseer(2) of *Campania* and the maritime Countries, and Inspector-General of the Levies, and all other Business

(1) Orig. Οὕτω περ τῶν πρόθεν ἐπαιθόμεθα κλῆα ἀνδρῶν. Sic sane eorum qui ante nos fuerunt audiebamus laudes virorum. I have translated this Verse out of the ninth Book of *Homer's Iliad*.

(2) Orig. ἐπισκοπων. Speculatorem.

there.

there. Therefore I think of holding myself in a moving Posture. I make no Doubt, that you are now perfectly acquainted with *Cæsar's* Impetuosity (1), with the Ply of the People, and the general State of Affairs. I wish you would write to me upon all those Heads, and that too very often, because they are apt to present themselves with so many different Faces; and indeed nothing gives me so much Ease, as writing to you and reading your Letters does.

EPIST. XII.

ONLY one Letter has come to my Hand from you, dated the 19th, and intimating that you had wrote me another, which I have not received. But I beg you will write me very often, not only what you know or hear, but what you suspect, and above all your Sentiments upon what I am to do, or what I am not to do. As to my informing you, as you desire, how *Pompey* intends to proceed; I don't believe he knows it himself, at least none of us do. I saw the Consul *Lentulus* at *Formiæ* upon the 21st, and I have likewise seen *Libo* (2), but all is full of Consternation and Confusion. *Pompey* himself has taken the Rout of *Larinum*, where, and at *Luceria*, and at *Trebanum*, and in other Places of *Apulia*, he has Troops quartered. No body can say, after that, whether he will determine to make a Stand somewhere in *Italy*, or to cross the Sea. Should he remain in *Italy*, I am

(1) *Orig. ὁρμή, Impetus.*

(2) His Daughter was married to *Pompey's* second Son.

afraid his Army will be too weak. Should he leave it, I shall be entirely at a Loss how, where, or when to act. For as to *Cæsar*, whose Tyranny (1) you so much dread, I think he will leave nothing bad undone. His Progress is not to be stopped by the Suspension of all public Business, by the Absence of our Senates and Magistrates, nor by shutting up the Treasury. But as you write, we shall soon come to a Certainty as to all this.

Having said thus much, I ask your Pardon for writing to you so often, and so fully. But thereby I gain some Composure of Spirit, and at the same Time I am willing to provoke you to answer me, and above all to advise me how I am to behave, and upon what Terms I am to proceed. Am I to put myself absolutely into *Pompey's* Hands? That I do not, proceeds, not from my being terrified by Danger, but overcharged with Resentment, that every Thing should be thus managed without regard, not only to my Advice, but to common Prudence! Am I to turn a Trimmer and a Time-server, and then make a Surrender of myself to those who shall seize and manage the Helm of Government? Alas! what would not the Public then say (2)! My Character, not only as a *Roman*, but as a Friend, deters me from this. Yet I have frequent Meltings when I think of our two Boys. Distracted as I thus am, though perhaps you are not less so, write to me somewhat, and above all, your Thoughts in what Manner I am to proceed, should *Pompey* leave

(1) Orig. Φαλαρισμὸν. *Phalaridis imitationem.*

(2) Orig. αἰδίσσμαι Τροίανας. *Vereor Trojanos.*

Italy. Both *Manius Lepidus* (1), for I have been with him, and *Lucius Torquatus*, are resolved, in that Case to take their Leave of him. As to myself, I am embarrassed with my Lictors, amidst many other Things; and never did I know so perplexed a Crisis. For that Reason I do not look from you for Certainties, but for your Conjectures, nay, for your Doubts (2) and Reasonings upon the State of Affairs.

It is next to certain, that *Labienus* has left *Cæsar*. In that Case if he had gone to *Rome*, while the Magistrates and the Senate were there, he would have been of great Use to our Party. It would have intimated, that the best of his Friends had condemned him as a Traitor to his Country. The Fact is indeed so, but at the present Juncture it is of less Use, because our Party cannot avail itself of it, and I believe that *Labienus* himself repents what he has done. Yet after all, there is a Possibility that his having left *Cæsar* is false; we, however, depend upon it as a Certainty.

You write me, that you confine yourself to your Family, yet still you may acquaint me with the Complexion of the Town, whether *Pompey* is loved or *Cæsar* hated in it; and with your Thoughts concerning my Wife and Daughter, whether they ought to live at *Rome*, or with me, or in some Place of Safety? Upon all these Subjects, and upon any other that occurs, I beg that you will write, or rather that you will scribble to me.

(1) He had been Consul in the Year of *Rome* 687, as *Torquatus* was the Year following, and therefore both of them, like our Author, were Consulars.

(2) *Orig. ἀπορίας. Dubitationem.*

E P I S T. XIII.

I AM entirely of your Mind with Regard to the Affairs of *Venonius* (1). I look upon *Labiennus* to be a Hero (2). We have not, for these many Years, had so noble an Instance of *Roman* Spirit, had it no other Effect, it has that of galling *Cæsar*; but I am in hopes of seeing it productive of more solid Consequences. I am in love with *Piso* likewise, and I can foresee that the Dislike he has signified of his Son-in-Law's (3) Conduct, will make a great Impression on the Public. You may now form a Judgment of the Nature of this War, which is civil, not because it is occasioned by civil Differences, but because one desperate bold Citizen has attempted the Overthrow of the civil Constitution. But then we are to consider that he is Master of a powerful Army, and that many join him, through Hopes and Assurances, which he has determined to answer by an all-engrossing Rapaciousness. Such is the Man to whom *Rome*, stripped of Strength, but crammed with Riches, has been delivered over. What have we not to apprehend from a Man who looks upon *Rome*, with all her Domes and Dwellings, not as the Seat of his Country, but the Reward of his Conquest?

(1) He was one of our Author's Friends. The Business here spoken of was of a private Nature, and of no Consequence to us.

(2) *Orig. ἥρωες. Heroem.*

(3) *Cæsar* was married to the Daughter of *Piso*, who was the same *Piso* whom our Author has so bloodily inveighed against in other Parts of his Works. It seems he had left *Rome* upon his Son-in-Law's Approach, as not choosing to join with him.

But

But what, or how, he will do without a Senate or Magistracy, I am at a Loss to know, since he has abolished, not only the Spirit, but the Forms of the Constitution (1). But where or when are we to emerge, headed, as we are, by a General who knows so little of his Profession (2), that he was a Stranger to the important Situation of *Picenum* (3). His Misconduct carries its Condemnation upon its own Face. Not to mention the Faults he has been committing for these ten long Years, what Terms were not preferable to his shameful Retreat from *Rome*? Even at this Time I am ignorant of his Designs, but I am incessantly endeavouring to fish somewhat out of him by Letters. Nothing can be more unmanly or unmeaning than the whole of his Management. I see no Forces, nor any Place where Forces can be quartered or employed, though it was in order to raise Forces, that it was thought proper he should remain near *Rome*, while all our Hopes rest upon two Legions that have been trepanned into our Service, and almost hate our Cause; for our Levies have hitherto been of Men who have been pressed into our Party, and dread nothing so much as they do fighting.

With Regard to an Accommodation, we have let slip the Time. What will happen hereafter, I

(1) Orig. *Ne simulare quidem poterit quicquam πολιτικῆς (secundum statuta reipublicæ).*

(2) Orig. ἀσχετοσύνη. *Artis Imperatoriae ignarus.*

(3) *Cæsar* had got the Start of *Pompey*, by making himself Master of the Country of *Picenum*, which is at present Part of the Marquisate of *Touvocono* and *Abruzzo*, and lying between the *Adriatic Sea*, *Umbria*, and the Country of the *Sabines*; it, in a Manner, covered *Rome* from *Cæsar*, especially as it was full of strong Passes and Towns.

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cannot foresee. Either we or our General have run into the Absurdity of sailing out of Harbour without a Rudder, and committing ourselves to the Mercy of the Storm. I am therefore at a Loss how to dispose of our two young *Ciceros*. Sometimes I am for sending them into *Greece*, that they may be out of the Way. At the same Time, I am filled with Apprehensions concerning my Wife and Daughter, when I reflect upon the Approach of Barbarians (1), but I am somewhat relieved when I remember that *Dolabella* is amongst them. I beg you would turn your Thoughts to consider in what Manner I am to act as to them. In the first Place, with regard to Safety (2), (for I must take Care of them whatever becomes of myself). In the next Place, with regard to the Talk of the Public, which may censure me for leaving them at *Rome*, at a Time when she was abandoned by all her worthy Citizens.

The same Consideration occurs with regard to yourself and *Peduceus* (3), who has written to me; for the Quality of you both is so high, that as much will be required of you as of our most illustrious Citizens. But that is a Consideration I must leave to yourself, as I am now applying to you for Advice concerning myself and my Family. What I have farther to recommend to you is, that you will do all you can to discover and inform me of what is passing, and of your own Conjectures, which I cannot dispense with in you. Any one can tell me

(1) *Cæsar's Army was full of Gauls.*

(2) *Orig. πρὸς τὸ ἀσφαλές. Ad id quod tutum fit.*

(3) *Sextus Peduceus* was a common Friend to our Author and *Atticus*.

what

what is doing; from you, I expect to learn what is to be done. A lucky Conjecture is, you know, next to a true Prophet (1). Pardon this Gossiping in me, which at once (at least when I am writing to you) soothes my Anguish, and invites you to an Answer.

P. S. I confess my Ignorance with Regard to the Riddle of the *Oppii* (2) from *Velia*, for it is more unintelligible than *Plato's* Cabala. Hold—— I understand it now from what you have said in calling these *Oppii* of *Velia*, *Succones*; this Word made me sweat, but gave me a Key to all the rest of the Passage, and it agreed with my Wife's Observations.

I saw *Lucius Caesar* at *Minturne* upon the 25th of *January*, in the Morning. This Rope of Sand, for I cannot call him a Man, was charged with Propositions so absurd, that I imagined *Caesar* designed them as a Ridicule upon all Negotiations, especially as he gave so important a Commission to so inconsiderable a Creature. I can account for his Conduct no other Way, unless (which may possibly be the Case) the Fellow has caught up some random Expressions of *Caesar*, and converted them into a Commission for himself.

Labienus, whom I think a truly great Man, upon the 22d Instant, came to *Teanum*, where he had a Conference with *Pompey* and the Consuls. What the Import and Result of it was, I will write you

(1) *Orig. μάντις ὁ ἀγείρος. Vates is optimus.*

(2) This is a private Affair, and the Reading in the Original is so uncertain, that we can make little or nothing of it.

when

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when I am better informed. On the 23d *Pompey* set out from *Tbeanum*, for *Larenum*, and lay that Night at *Venafrum* (1). *Labienu*s seems to have given us some Spirits. But as yet I have nothing remarkable to write to you from this Place. I give more Attention to News from *Rome*; in what Manner *Cæsar* carries himself with regard to *Labienu*s (2), what *Domitius* is doing amongst the *Marfi* (3), *Thermus* at *Iguvium* (4) and *Attius* at *Cingulum* (5); how the People of *Rome* stand affected, and what your Conjectures are, as to the Event of all. I beg you would give me repeated Informations upon those Heads, as well as your Opinion how I ought to dispose of my Wife and Daughter, and what Resolution you are come to yourself. Had I writt'n this with my own Hand it would have been longer, but the Humour in my Eyes obliges me to make use of an Amanuensis.

(1) This was a Town in *Campania*, situated on the River *Volturno*.

(2) He carried himself like a wife and a great Man. He appeared so far from being disconcerted at *Labienu*s leaving him, that he sent after him all his Equipages, Baggage and Attendants.

(3) Their Country lay towards the north of *Campania Diroma* in *Italy*.

(4) This was a Town in *Umbria*, and was possessed by *Curio* for *Cæsar*, the Troops of *Thermus* having disbanded upon *Curio*'s Approach.

(5) It lay in the Country of *Picenum*.

EPIST.

E P I S T. XIV.

I Write this on the 27th of *January*, (the Humour, in my Eyes, being abated,) as I set out from *Calvi* (1) to *Capua*. On the 25th, *Lucius Cæsar* delivered *Cæsar's* Proposals to *Pompey*, while he was at *Tbeanum* with the Consuls. The Terms were approved of, on Condition, that he should withdraw his Troops from all the Places, not within his own Government, that he had seized. If he would do that, it was agreed that we should return to *Rome*, and that the Senate should ratify the Treaty. As present, I am in hopes we shall have Peace; because *Cæsar* thinks he has gone too far, and *Pompey*, that his own Army is too weak. It was *Pompey's* Pleasure that I should go to *Capua* to forward the Levies, in which the *Campanian* Planters are not a little backward (2).

I was misinformed as to what I wrote you upon the Strength of *Torquatus's* Intelligence with regard to *Cæsar's* Gladiators at *Capua*. It must be owned *Pompey* has quartered them very judiciously, two to each Family. There were five thousand Shields (3)

(1) *Orig. Cales*. This was a Town in *Campania* near *Capua*.

(2) *Cæsar*, during his Consulship, had established a Colony at *Capua*. The Original here is, *Parum prolixè respondet*, and alludes to the Custom of enrolling Soldiers, by calling over the Names of those they wanted to enlist, to which the latter answered, when they entered the Service.

(3) I read here *Scutorum* instead of *Secutorum*. If we read *Secutorum*, it must be meant of *Gladiators*; the *Secuti*, being a Species of that Profession. But it is ridiculous to think, that *Cæsar*, at such a Time as this, would have kept such a Number of *Gladiators* shut up in a fencing School. We learn, however from concurring Passages in History, that the Number of *Gladiators*, he had at *Capua*, was considerable.

in their fencing School, and they threatened to break out. This was a measure greatly for the Service of the Public. As to our Ladies, of whom your Sister is one, I beg you to take care that we do nothing unbecoming our Character in keeping them at *Rome*; after all the other Ladies of Quality have left it. This is no more than I wrote both to them and to you before. I entreat you to give them your Advice to leave the City; especially, as they can, for a Season, be very conveniently lodged upon those Estates by the Sea-Side, where I command. As to any disgust my Son-in-Law may take at this, I am not to answer for it. It is of more Consequence to me to consider that ours are the only Ladies who have remained at *Rome*. I should be glad to know what Resolution you, and *Peduceus*, have come to, as to your leaving *Rome*, and what you think of the present Situation of Affairs. For my part, I incessantly preach up Peace, which, even upon Terms not warrantable by Justice, is preferable to the most warrantable War. But this is as it may happen.

E P I S T. XV.

EVER since I left *Rome*, I have not omitted writing you a Letter every Day, not that I have any Business of Importance to write you, but that I may converse with you in your Absence, which, next to conversing with you in Person, gives me the greatest pleasure in Life. Upon my arriving at *Capua* Yesterday, being the 21st of *January*, I had a Meeting with the Consuls, and many others

others of our House. All of them wished that *Cæsar* would draw off his Troops, and stand to the Terms he had proposed. *Favonius* was the only Man who expressed his Dislike of his imposing Terms upon us. But he was very little regarded in the Meeting, for *Cato* himself preferred complying to fighting (1). He declares however that he intends to be present in the Senate, when the Terms of the Accommodation are debated; if *Cæsar* can be brought to draw off his Troops. Thus, he dislikes going to *Sicily*, where he might do great Service, and he intends to be present in the Senate, where, I am afraid, he will do great hurt. As to *Posthumus*, who, according to the Senate's express Resolution, was to have gone to succeed *Fuffanus*, in *Sicily*, he refuses to stir without *Cato*, and lays great Stress on the Service he can do in the Senate; by his Interest and Abilities. Thus the Employment has devolved upon *Fannius* (2), who is sent to command in *Sicily*.

We have here a great Variety of Opinions as to public Matters. It is generally imagined, that *Cæsar* will not stand to his Proposals, which he is thought to have made to divert us from making the necessary Preparations to oppose him in the Field. For my own Part, I am of Opinion, that he will stand to them so far as to withdraw his Troops from the Towns not in his Government. For he will have gained

(1) *Orig. Cato enim ipse jam servire, quam pugnare mavult.* Monsieur Mongault translates this, *Caton même préfère la servitude à une guerre civile.* This I think is too harsh upon *Cato's* Character, especially as the Words will admit the Sense I have given them. *Serviri* (*viz. Tempori*) is common with *Cicero*.

(2) *Posthumus*, *Fuffanus*, and *Fannius*, though very ordinary Persons, made themselves Men of Importance about this Time.

his Ends if he should be made Consul, and the Conclusion of his Scene will be less guilty than its Commencement. But still we must endure his Buffet. For we are scandalously unprovided both as to Troops and Money, having left to his Mercy not only the private Property, but the public Exchequer of *Rome*. *Pompey* is set out to take upon him the Command of the Legions (1) under *Attius* attended by *Labienus*. I am impatient for your Opinion as to all those Matters. I am now thinking of departing immediately for *Formiæ*.

E P I S T. XVI.

I Believe I have received all your Letters excepting the first, in a regular Order, according to their Dates as they were sent by my Wife. My Letters, dated from *Capua* the 27th instant, inform you of *Cæsar's* Proposals, the Arrival of *Labienus*, and the Answers returned by the Consuls and *Pompey*, with other Matters. We are now in great Suspence concerning two Points. The one is, how *Cæsar* will proceed upon the Answer which *Lucius Cæsar* was charged with to lay before him. The other is how *Pompey* will act, who writes to me, that in a few Days he shall be at the Head of an effective Army, and gives me hopes, that, when he arrives in the *Picenum*, we shall be in a Condition to return to *Rome*. He has with him *Labienus*, who takes it for granted, that *Cæsar's* Army is but weak,

(1) These were Legions in *Picenum*.

and

and his Desertion has put our Friend *Pompey* into high Spirits.

Having received Orders from the Consuls to be at *Capua* by the 5th of *February*, I set out in my Way thither for *Formiæ* on the 30th of *January*, on which Day I write this at three in the Afternoon, immediately upon the Receipt of your Letters at *Calvi*. I agree with you as to my Wife and Daughter, and have written to them to follow your Directions. If they are not yet set out from *Rome*, there is no hurry until we see how Matters are situated.

EPIST. XVII.

YOUR Letter was to me both kind and comfortable. I thought of sending the Boys into *Greece* at that Time, when I perceived Dispositions were making for abandoning *Italy*. As to myself I should have gone to *Spain*, though that would not have been so convenient for the young Gentlemen as for me. So far as I can judge, both you and *Peduceus* may now remain at *Rome* without Molestation. Nor to say the Truth, have you any great Reason to be warm in the Interests of our Friend *Pompey*. No body sure ever left *Rome* so disfurnished of Troops (1).
You

(1) Our Author here, according to Monsieur *Mengault*, is witty upon the *Epicurean* Principles of his two Friends, who might think themselves very little obliged to *Pompey* for interrupting their Pleasures by exposing them to be disturbed by *Cæsar*. But I cannot at all see the Wit in this, since the Thing really was true and very seriously so. The Original is, *Nemo enim unquam tantum de urbanis præjidiis detraxit*. Now if I am not mistaken the Wit here lies in the double *entendre* of the Ex-

You see I have not forgot how to joke. Now you doubtless know the Answer which *Pompey* sent to *Cæsar* by *Lucius Cæsar*, and the Letter he sent him by the same Hand, for they were written and delivered with a View of making them public. I have blamed *Pompey* in my own Mind, as he himself has a very perspicuous Stile, for employing our Friend, *Sestius*, in drawing up a Writing of so great Importance, especially as it is to be made public; nor, to say the Truth, did I ever see any Thing more truly in the *Sestian* Stile (1). But from *Pompey's* Letter it is plain, that *Cæsar* has been denied nothing, that he has obtained all and more than he demanded, and, as he has obtained his Demands, impudent as they are, he would be the worst of Madmen should he break off the Accommodation. For what right had he or you, or any Man to say, I will do so and so, if *Pompey* will go to *Spain*, and if he will withdraw his Troops from *Italy*? Yet even this has been complied with, tho' I own the Compliance does not now come with so good a Grace, after the Government has been attacked, and Hostilities commenced, as it would have done before, when he demanded the Dispensation with his Absence, while he stood for the Consulate. After all, I am apprehensive, that even those Terms will not satisfy him. It was no good Symptom that he continued his Operations during the Dependence of the Treaty, which he committed to *Lucius Cæsar*, and before he had any Answer. At present, he is said to proceed more violently than ever.

pression, *Urbana præfidia*, which may either signify the Garrison of *Rome*, or the Men of Wit and Pleasure about Town.

(1) Orig. *consuetudinem. Magis sestianæ.*

Trebatius

Trebatius indeed writes me, that, on the 22d of *January*, *Cæsar* charged him to let me know by a Letter, that he would take it as the highest Favour if I would return to *Rome*, for such is the Substance of his Letter, which is very long; I understood, by what I could learn of every Day's proceedings, that, from the Moment *Cæsar* heard of our Departure from *Rome*, he began to bestir himself, that some of the Consulars might return to it. I have therefore no doubt of his having written to *Piso* and to *Servius* (1). I am surpriz'd at one Thing, that he has neither written to me himself, nor employed *Dolabella* or *Cælius* to treat with me. I am however far from disregarding the Letter of *Trebatius*, who I know to have a sincere Regard for me; for I wrote him an Answer to his (as I had no mind to write to *Cæsar*, without his first writing to me) shewing him that what he requested was next too impracticable at this Juncture, but that I lived on my own Farms, and concerned myself neither with public Levies nor public Business. The Truth is, I intend to continue in this Situation till all hopes of Peace are over. But should the War continue, I will begin by Transporting (2) our Boys to *Greece*, and then I will act with a Spirit suitable to my Duty and Dignity; for I hear that all *Italy* will soon be in one Blaze of War: Such Calamities are we involved in partly by profligate, and partly by envious, *Romans*! But we shall know what Turn Affairs will take in a few Days, when we receive *Cæsar's* Reply to our Answer. If the Issue should be War, I will write you more fully,

(1) This was *Servius Sulpicius*, who was thought to be in *Cæsar's* Interest.

(2) *Orig. unusquisque Cum exportaverit.*

and if a Cessation of Arms, I hope to see you in Person.

On the 2d of *February*, I write this Letter from *Formia*, having come hither from *Capua* to meet the Ladies. It is true, that upon the Strength of your Information, I had wrote them not to leave *Rome*: But I understand that the Pannic is encreas'd in the City. On the 5th Instant I am to be at *Capua*, by order of the Consuls. Whatever News *Pompey* shall bring us I will instantly impart it to you by Letter. Mean while, I am impatient to know your Sentiments upon all these Matters.

E P I S T. XVIII.

ON the 2d of *February* my Wife and Daughter came to *Formia*, and inform'd me of all your very obliging Behaviour, and good Offices in their Behalf. I am willing they should continue at *Formia*, together with the two young *Cicerones*, until we know whether we are to embrace a scandalous Peace or a destructive War. On the 3d of *February*, (the Date of this Letter) I set out with my Brother to join with the Consuls at *Capua*, where I am ordered to be by the 5th. We hear that the People were wonderfully pleased with *Pompey's* Answer, and that it was approved of in an Assembly. I always thought it would; and that *Cæsar* would lose his Interest should he reject it. But should he accept it.—Alas, say you, which is the lesser Evil? This is a Question I cannot answer, unless I know in what Forwardness our Preparations are.

It was reported here that *Cassius* was driven from
Ancona,

Ancona (1) and that our Troops were in Possession of the City. This will be an important Service if a War should follow. It is certain, that *Cæsar*, even upon dispatching *Lucius Cæsar* with his Proposals for an Accommodation, has carried on his Operations with greater Vigour than ever, by seizing Posts, and forming a strong Line of Garrisons. What a Ruffian, what a Robber he is? Can any Peace compensate for this Wound of our Country's Honour? But let us leave off railing, I must temporize and go with *Pompey* to *Spain*. This is the only choice that is left me amidst those public Calamities which have befallen us for not guarding (2) our Country, while it was in our Power to have done it against the second Consulship of *Cæsar*. But of this enough.

I forgot to write to you about *Dionysius*; but my Scheme was to wait for *Cæsar*'s Reply, so that *Dionysius* might attend me at *Rome*, if I should return to that City. But if that Reply should be postponed for any time, I was to have invited him hither. I leave it to yourself to say how it becomes

(1) This News was false.

(2) The Original here has divided some of the greatest Critics. *Hæc opto in malis; quoniam illius alterum consulatum a republica, ne data quidem occasione, repulimus.* *Marutius* and *Corradus* think that *Cicero* here blames his Party for wantonly opposing *Cæsar*, when all he sought was to be Consul a second Time. But this, though it agrees with the Original, is said by *Gronovius*, not to agree with *Cicero*'s Expressions in the ninth Epistle of this Book, and with the political Principles he lays down in his Offices. It is, however, certain that our Author never mentioned *Cæsar*'s being a Consul a second Time, in any other Light, but that of a lesser Evil; and as to his political Principles laid down in his philosophical Writings, we are to look upon them only as so many Problems, which he seldom or never carried into Practice, or mentioned when writing to a Friend like *Atticus*.

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a Man of Learning and a Friend to behave to one in my Situation, especially when I request his Attendance,—But this perhaps is expecting too much of a *Greek*. If (as I hope I shall not) I should be obliged to send for him, I will leave you to sound him, for I don't chuse to trouble him against his Inclination.

My Brother *Quintus* does all he can to get Money from *Egnatius* to pay you. *Egnatius* wants neither Will nor Abilities for this, but the Circumstances of the time are such, that *Quintus Titinius*, who is frequently in my Company, protests, that he cannot command his travelling Charges, and he is obliged to give Notice to his Debtors, that the Interests of their Principals shall run on at the same Rate as before; *Lucius Ligus* is said to follow the same Course. The Truth is, my Brother at this Time has no Money by him; he can get none from *Egnatius*, nor can he borrow any elsewhere; and he is surpris'd (1) that you have no Regard to his Distress, which is in common with that of the Public. For my own Part, though, (especially when you are concerned, whom I know to be considerate in all your Steps.) I observe the Maxim (2) which Criticks think to be falsely ascribed to *Hesiod* (3), I mean, that of hearing both Parties, yet I could not help being moved with his Complaints. I thought proper to lay the whole of the Matter before yourself.

(1) This confirms what we have observed before of *Atticus*, that he knew very well the Value of Money, which he thought the first Instrument of Pleasure.

(2) *Orig. μὴδὲ δίκην. Neque causam supp. judicaveris priusquam quid uterque dixerit audieris.*

(3) *Orig. ψευδὲς ἔσθαι. Quod falso Hesiodo adscribitur.*

E P I S T. XIX.

I Really am so far from having any Thing to write that I have withdrawn a Letter which I was to have sent you, because it was so full of Hopes for the best, founded upon my Informations of the Dispositions of the Assembly of the People at *Rome*, and upon my own Suggestions, that *Cesar* would never reject the Terms that were granted him, especially as they were proposed by himself. Meanwhile, on the Morning of the 4th of *February*, I received Letters from you from *Philotimus*, and *Furmius*, with one to the latter from *Curio*, ridiculing the whole of *Lucius Caesar's* Negotiation. We are now reduced to a desperate pass. What to resolve upon I know not, I don't mean with regard to myself, but to the Boys. I am however now setting out for *Capua*, where I can be better informed of *Pompey's* Situation.

E P I S T. XX.

THIS Juncture requires fewness of Words. I despair of Peace. We are unprovided for War. You cannot imagine two more despicable Creatures than our Consuls. After coming, as I was ordered, to *Capua*, through a Deluge of Rain, upon the 4th Instant, in Hopes of hearing and understanding our Preparations, I have missed of them here, and when they come, they will come unprovided and unprepared. As to *Pompey*, he is said to be at *Luceria*, to put himself at the Head of some Cohorts of *Attius's* Legions, who are thought to

to be wavering. We are told, that *Cæsar* proceeds in a very rapid Manner, and that he is advancing a-pace, not with an Intention to fight (for he has no Body to fight with) but to cut off our Retreat. For my own Part, I am determin'd (nor will I consult even you upon that Matter) even to die (1) with *Pompey* in *Italy*. But should he leave it, what am I to do? The approaching Winter, the Incumbrances of my Lictors, the Indolence and Oversight of our Generals, are so many Arguments for my staying behind. My Motives, on the other Hand, for joining in the Flight, are; my Friendship for *Pompey*, the Cause of my Country, and the Shame of following a Tyrant, who leaves us at a Loss to conclude where he will propose *Phalaris* or *Pisistratus* (2) as the Model of his Conduct. I beg you to extricate me by your Advice out of this Labyrinth. I know, you are at a Loss how to proceed yourself; but still give me what Counsel you can. If to Day I hear any Thing new, you shall know it, for the Consuls will surely be here by the 5th, it being a Day of their own Appointment. You will write me an Answer to this with your Conveniency. I have left the Ladies and the young Gentlemen at *Formiæ*.

(1) *Orig. εἰς συνανθοδανίῃ. Vel simul mori.*

(2) *Pisistratus* overthrew the Liberty of his Country *Athens*, but ruled with great Justice and Humanity. *Phalaris* was a *Sicilian* Usurper, and ruled with great Inhumanity.

E P I S T. XXI.

BEING nearer to the Source of our Misfortunes, than I am, you must hear of them first. I can send you nothing from this to comfort you. I arrived at *Capua*, by the Orders of the Consuls, on the 5th of *February*, where *Lentulus* arrived late in the Evening of that Day. The other Consul was not come upon the 7th, on which Day I left *Capua*. and lay at *Calvi*, from whence, on the 8th, I write this Letter before Day-break. The Accounts I picked up at *Capua* were, that we are to have no Dependance upon our Consuls, and that we have no where any Levies. Our recruiting Officers dare not show their Faces (1), as well on Account of *Cæsar's* being near them, as of our General appearing no where, and making no Efforts. No body has even enlisted, but this is not owing to want of Affection to the Cause, but to the desperate State of our Affairs.

Our Friend *Pompey* (2) is now a contemptible Thing, below all Idea of Wretchedness, without Spirit, without Resolution, without Interest, and without Industry. I shall not touch on his former Conduct in his so scandalously flying from *Rome*, his abject Applications to the Towns of *Italy*, in his Ig-

(1) *Orig. φανεροποιεῖν. Vultum offendere.*

(2) Our Author has his cold and warm Fits towards this great Man, and he becomes, by Turns, his Admiration and Contempt. It is, however, but doing *Cicero* Justice to distinguish between the Person and the Character of *Pompey*. All the Littleness he here mentions might be true as to his Person, but still as he acted in the Character of his Country's General, our Author's Attachment to him is very justifiable and very reconcileable to the Duty of a wife and an honest great Man.

norance, not only of his Antagonists, but of his own Strength. But how can you reconcile to common Sense what I am going to tell you? On the 7th of February the Tribune *Caius Cassius* came to *Capua*, with *Pompey's* Orders to the Consuls to return to *Rome*, which they were immediately to leave, after carrying off the ready Money which was in the sacred Treasury (1). Return to *Rome*!—Where is their Convoy? Return from *Rome*!—How shall they obtain Leave? One of the Consuls wrote back Word to *Pompey*, that he should first make himself Master of *Picenum*. But all *Picenum* was by this Time lost, without our receiving any Information of its Loss, but by a Letter which *Dolabella* sent to me.

(1) There was somewhat extremely absurd in *Pompey's* Conduct in leaving this Treasure to *Caesar's* Mercy at *Rome*. It had been long gathering in the Temple of *Saturn*, and was not to be employed but upon the last Exigencies of the State, such as an Invasion of the *Gauls*. This Treasure had three Sources, the first was the Plunder of the conquered Nations, the second was the twentieth Penny which was paid *ad valorem* for every Slave that was manumitted, and the third was the ordinary Revenues of the Public. Though *Pompey*, as I have observed before, was too apt to refine upon his Conduct, and generally used a crooked Path when a strait one lay before him, yet he seems to have succeeded beyond Expectation in his Measure of abandoning *Rome*, which strikes our Author with such Amazement. For it awakened the Public to a Sense of its own Danger, and the *Romans* were struck with Horror, which brought them into Action, when they saw the first Man of their Country hunted from Place to Place. His Refinement, however, of leaving behind him this sacred Treasure was not so happy. It is plain, that he either thought *Caesar* would not touch it, or if he did, that the Detestation of the Public would do him more Prejudice than the Treasure could do him Service. But this was reasoning very weakly, as the Event showed, and as *Pompey* found too late; for *Caesar*, had by this Time actually seized the Money, and did no more than *Pompey* himself intended to do.

I expect

I expect every Moment to hear of *Cæsar* being in *Apulia*, and *Pompey* on Ship-board. What I am to do puzzles (1) me extremely. I could be in no such Distress, but for their scandalous Conduct; nor indeed was I consulted in any one Measure. I will, however, act as becomes my Character. *Cæsar* himself advises me to set about an Accommodation, but his Letters were written before he had made his rapid Progress: I am informed by *Dolabella* and *Cælius*, that I am greatly in his Favour. I am upon the Rack (2) how to determine myself. I beg you will give me all the Assistance you can by your Advice, without neglecting, so far as you are able, to mind my Affairs at *Rome*. I have nothing farther to write amidst this general Consternation. I am impatient to hear from you.

EPIST. XXII.

CÆSAR is now Master of every Inch of *Italy*. I know nothing of *Pompey*, but I believe his Retreat will be cut off unless he has already got on Ship-board. How incredibly rapid has *Cæsar's* Progress been! But as to our Friend—No—It gives me Pain to reflect upon the Man whose Condition gives me Sorrow and Torment. You have some Reason to be apprehensive of a Proscription and Massacre, not that it can any Way contribute to forward the Conquests or establish the Power of *Cæsar*; but I

(1) Orig. *onipua*. *Quæstio*.

(2) Orig. *aiwopia*. *Dubitatio*.

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can perceive by whose Counsels he is determined (1): Let us hope, however, for the best.

I am of Opinion that I must leave the Towns in this Country. I am at a Loss what to do. Do you act as shall appear best to you for my Interest: You may talk with *Philotimus*, and my Wife will be at *Rome* by the 13th. But how am I to proceed? Through what Seas, through what Lands am I to follow a Man, without knowing where he is? By Land how can I overtake him, and how can I reach him by Sea? Shall I then surrender myself to *Cæsar*? Supposing, as many assure me, I could do it with Safety, can I do it with Honour? By no Means. What then am I to resolve upon? I fly, as usual, to you for Advice. My Difficulties are inextricable. But still I beg you will let me know whatever suggests to you, and what you are resolved upon yourself.

EPIST. XXIII.

THE Evening of the 9th of *February*, *Philotimus* informed me by a Letter that *Domitius* was at the Head of a strong Army, which had been joined by the Battalions from *Picenum*, under the Conduct of *Lentulus* and *Thermus*; that *Cæsar* was apprehensive

(1) Our Author's Judgment of Measures seems all along to have been much truer than his Judgment of Men. He reasons very justly, and his Conjectures are generally verified; but his Characters are neither true nor consistent, as we have observed on various Occasions. Nothing could be more distant from the

apprehensive his Communication would be cut off, which was very practicable to be effected; that the Patriot Party at *Rome* had recovered their Spirits, and that the Rebels were, as it were, Thunder-struck. Though I am afraid this good News is little better than visionary; yet this Letter from *Philotimus* has brought to Life *Manius Lepidus*, *Lucius Torquatus*, and the Tribune *Caius Cassius*, who are with me at *Formiæ*. For my own Part, I am afraid they are not so well founded as the Accounts of our being almost surrounded by the Enemy, and that *Pompey* is retiring from *Italy*. We have received the mortifying News that *Cæsar* is in Pursuit of him. *Cæsar* in Pursuit of *Pompey*!—What! To take away his Life!—Death and Destruction! And shall we not all join to guard him with our Lives? This Reflection I know brings a Groan from you likewise. But what shall we do? We are vanquished and undone, in short we must yield at Discretion.

Mean while, upon the Strength of *Philotimus's* Letter, I have altered my Resolution which I mentioned to you of sending the Ladies back to *Rome*. I reflected that it would occasion a great deal of Talk, as if, finding the Ruin of our Country to be unavoidable, I had sent off the Wo-

the Truth than what he hints of *Cæsar*, who the least of all Mankind was susceptible of any sanguinary Influence, and in public Matters always judged for himself. It is true, he sometimes made use of very bad Men under him; but they were generally such as could do his Business, nor did he ever suffer them to be guilty of any Excesses, and even his Favourite *Anthony* sometimes severely felt the Effects of his Displeasure for his Extravagance.

men

men before-hand, by way of Preparation for my own Return to *Rome*. With regard to myself, I am of your Opinion, not to venture upon a wandering perilous Flight, which could do no Service to my Country, and none to *Pompey*, for whom it would be my Pride, as it is my Duty, to die (1). I will therefore remain, even though I should be forced to live.

You ask me what is doing here. I tell you that we have lost all *Capua*, that there is an End of our Levies, that our Affairs are desperate, and that we are all upon the Point of Flight, unless a Junction of *Pompey's* Troops, with those of *Domitius*, should take Place. But in a Day or two we shall come to a Certainty as to those Matters. I have sent you, at your Request, a Copy of *Cæsar's* Letter; I have received many Informations from different Hands, that he is extremely desirous of obliging me. I shall not decline his Favours, provided they are not inconsistent with the Patriot Conduct I have hitherto observed.

E P I S T. XXIV.

IT is true, my Spirits were not much raised by the Letter I received from *Philotimus*, but it gave great Joy to every body else in the Neighbourhood. But behold, next Day, *Cassius* received a Letter from his Friend *Lucretius* at *Capua*, with an

(1) *Orig. Pro quo emori cum pidi possum, tum libenter.*

Account that *Nigidius* had been sent to *Capua* by *Domitius*, and gave out that *Vibullus*, with a few Soldiers, was making the best of his Way through *Picenum* to join *Pompey*; that *Cæsar* was at his Heels, and that *Domitius* was not three thousand strong. He adds, that the Consuls had abandoned *Capua*. I make no Doubt that *Pompey* is flying, and I wish he may escape. I think with you that I have no Business to fly.

EPIST. XXV.

C*ephalo* arrived hither, and put into my Hand a Letter from you, which in your Manner was written rather to cheer, than to assure, me, just after I had sent off to you the melancholy, but I am afraid too well grounded Accounts sent by *Lucretius* from *Capua* to *Cassius*. It is the last Thing in the World I should believe, that (as all of you write from *Rome*) *Pompey* is at the Head of an Army. All our Intelligence here is of a different Strain, and is the very reverse of what I wish for. How afflicting is the Thought that the Man (1) who has always succeeded

(1) Meaning *Pompey*, to whom he pays no great Compliment. The Truth is, *Pompey* was not of so narrow a Genius as our Author generally represents him to be. He was certainly formed by Experience, if not by Nature, to be a great Man, and no other *Roman* had so great an Art in balancing Parties as he had. His Ambition reached no farther than being the first Man in a well regulated Commonwealth; and tho' his Power was perhaps a little unconstitutional, yet he did not so much court it, as it was forced upon him by the Necessity of the Juncture, nor did he ever flagrantly abuse it. Perhaps

ceeded in the worst, should now fall into the best of Causes. How shall we account for this, but that he knew the Ply of the one, because such a Knowledge is easily acquired, but not of the other, because it requires great Abilities to manage the Helm of Government aright (1). But in a little while I shall know every Thing; when I do, I shall lose no Time in writing to you.

EPIST. XXVI.

I Cannot say the same Thing happens to me, as you imply happens to you in your Expression "As oft as I have a Gleam of Hope." At present however, I have a small Gleam, and it is chiefly occasioned by the Letter which came from *Rome* concerning *Domitius* and the *Picentine* Battalions. For those two Days every Thing has put on a more cheerful Aspect, and now nobody thinks of flying as they intended. *Cæsar's* bouncing (2) peremptory Manifestos

he sometimes contributed to that Necessity; but notwithstanding that, our Author's Censure of him here is certainly too severe, if it implies that he was never concerned in any other than dirty Practices.

(1) The Original here is here very perplexed, I read it *Nisi, illud cum scisse; neque enim erat difficile: hoc nescisse*. This Sentiment, as I have translated it, is a very fine and a very true one. *Scire* here signifies that kind of Knowledge which rises from Experience and Practice, and *Pompey* was a Stranger to the Arts of Command during a civil War.

(2) In the Original here is inserted a Line *Ennius*, as is thought, translated from *Euripides*

Si te secundo lumine hic offendero.

Euripi-

Manifestos are despised. In short, our Reports concerning *Domitius* give us Comfort, those concerning *Afranius*, Courage.

I take it very kind that you, in so friendly a Manner, advise me to declare myself, as little as possible, for either Party. "But above all, add you, take Care not to seem to be biased in favour of the Rebels." It is possible that I may be thought to be so. I refused taking upon me any Command in a civil War, while an Accommodation was on Foot. Not but such a War would have been warrantable; but I had smarted before for being concerned in a Measure much more warrantable. The Truth is, I was unwilling to have for my Enemy, a Man to whom the greatest Man of our Party offered a second Consulate with a Triumph, "for his most glorious Actions," to make use of the Offerer's own remarkable Expression. I know the Man, and I know my own Reasons for fearing him, if there should be an Accommodation; but if War should take Place, I will do my Duty to my Country.

My Wife has wrote to you concerning the hundred and fifty Pounds. I did not chuse to trouble *Dionysius* while I thought I should be obliged to hold myself in a moving Posture. As to what you write of his profound Regard for me, I have returned no Answer to it, because I was every Day expecting to come to some fixed Resolution. I am now of Opinion that our Boys will pass the Winter at *Formia*;

Euripides seems to have put it in the Mouth of *Creon*, threatening to kill *Medea* if he found her at *Corinth* two Days longer.

I know not whether I shall do the same, for in case of a War I am resolved to be with *Pompey*. I will take care to acquaint you with every thing I can depend upon. I am of Opinion that the War will turn out most fatally, unless some *Parthian* Providence (1) (you remember the Thing) should interpose.

(1) This is explained by a Passage at the End of the second Letter, of this Book.

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.





